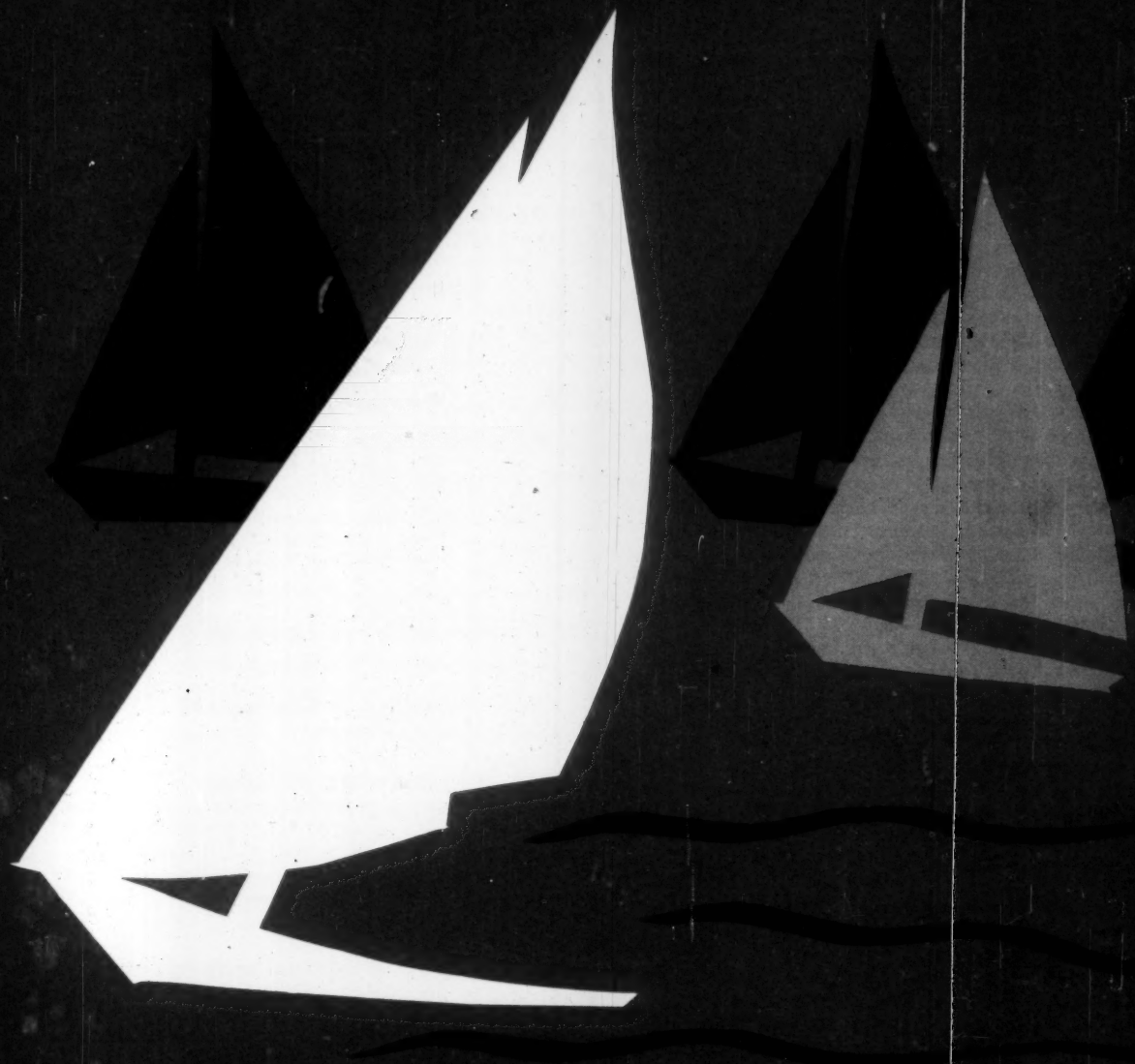
50 CENTS JULY 1961

PROGRESSIVE



LIBERALS AND THE CULT OF POWER Karl E. Meyer

THE RIDERS Murray Kempton

THE FRUITS OF INVESTIGATION Estes Kefauver

Office memo

"ONCE I started reading *The Progressive's* special Latin American issue I couldn't put it down," is the approving comment of a Philadelphia economist. "I only wish it were required reading for every member of the Administration, the State Department, the CIA, and—in the interests of greater understanding—the Castro government. Enclosed is my check for extra copies which I plan to give to my friends."

"Your Latin American issue," a Colorado political science professor writes, "is by far the most objective and comprehensive treatment of a most complex situation that I have had the professional pleasure of reading. I intend to use it in my summer school courses, and will make it required reading for my students in the fall. Please send forty copies and a reasonable bill."

We sent our Colorado friend forty copies—and a reasonable bill.

These letters are only two of hundreds expressing the enthusiasm *The Progressive* frankly shares in publishing another of its distinguished special issues.

In anticipation of the kind of response exemplified by these readers, we printed several thousand extra copies of Editor Morris H. Rubin's analysis of Cuba and the other Latin American countries he studied this spring. The savings realized by printing these copies on the first press run are being passed on to readers in the form of low prices for bulk orders.

For a single copy, the price is the usual fifty cents. But for orders running to three or more, the price scales down rapidly—all the details are on Page 27.

●

The response to our Spring Campaign for new subscribers has continued at such a brisk pace that we have extended the offer for another month. And as an additional inducement to readers to take advantage of this offer, we will send every new subscriber a copy of our issue on Latin America as an introduction to *The Progressive*. This is our special offer:

You may send The Progressive to three new readers, anywhere in the United States or overseas, for five months, for a total cost of five dollars. As a reward, you will receive a free copy of the exciting autobiography of Robert M. LaFollette, Sr., founder of The Progressive magazine.

Just jot down three names on any sheet of paper and mail with $5 to *The Progressive*. Or, if you prefer, we will provide the names of new readers from lists compiled by our traveling editors and writers. In either case, the special Latin American issue will go off promptly to each new subscriber, as will your copy of LaFollette's Autobiography.

●

If you are changing your address this summer, either temporarily or permanently, we urge you to give us your old address as well as the new one, including postal zones.

VOLUME 25 NUMBER 7

The

FOUNDED IN 1909 BY ROBERT M. LaFOLLETTE, Sr.

JULY, 1961

EDITOR MORRIS H. RUBIN
ASSOCIATE EDITOR MARY SHERIDAN
ASSOCIATE EDITOR JOHN McGRATH
BUSINESS MANAGER GORDON SINYKIN
OFFICE STAFF ROSE L. REDISKE
HELEN KLEPPE, DOROTHY BEYLER
BETTY HAMRE, ELEANOR WIND

3 **NEW ROADS TO ECONOMIC AID**
Editorial

4 **NOTES IN THE NEWS**

7 **THE LIBERALS AND THE NEW CULT OF POWER**
Karl E. Meyer

9 **THE RIDERS**
Murray Kempton

12 **THE FRUITS OF PRICE INVESTIGATION**
Senator Estes Kefauver

16 **THE GENTLE KNIGHT OF AMERICAN LIBERALISM**
Norman L. Zucker

19 **AFL/CIO: A HOUSE DIVIDED**
Sidney Lens

23 **THE TEACHER'S MILLSTONE**
Judith H. Stiehm

26 **THE PEOPLE'S FORUM**

29 **BOOKS**

The Progressive makes no attempt to exact complete conformity from its contributors, but rather welcomes a variety of opinions consistent with its general policies. Signed articles, therefore, do not necessarily represent the opinion of the management of the magazine.

THE PROGRESSIVE is published monthly. Copyright © 1961 by The Progressive, Inc., 408 Gorham Street, Madison 3, Wisconsin. Second-class postage paid at Madison, and Waterloo, Wisconsin.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICES: U.S. and foreign—One year $5; Two years $9; Three years $12.

MANUSCRIPTS: The Progressive cannot assume responsibility for unsolicited articles and letters. None will be returned unless so requested and accompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope. Printed in U.S.A.

PROGRESSIVE

"YE SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH
AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE"

New Roads to Economic Aid

DESPITE THE presence of many fresh faces and the use of many fine phrases, the Kennedy Administration has failed thus far to develop an American foreign policy that represents a significant advance over the sterile doctrines that dominated our foreign relations under the Eisenhower Administration. In many of the President's speeches, and those of his principal aides, there is an arresting awareness of the nature of the struggle in which we are involved and a sensitive appreciation that we must somehow play a more creative role than we have up to now, but almost invariably at this point the President and his lieutenants retreat from their own diagnosis to embrace the negative concepts of their predecessors.

Thus, Mr. Kennedy spoke eloquently at the outset of his Administration of the social and economic causes of crisis in Latin America, and then proceeded to swallow, disastrously, the Eisenhower Administration's invasion cure for Cuba. On the basic conflict over Berlin and Germany, the President has produced nothing more affirmative than his resolve to maintain the status quo *"at any risk;"* there has been no indication that he appreciates the possibilities of proposing a solution based on the concept of a free, neutralized, unified Germany. As for South Vietnam, which will soon replace Laos in front page headlines, the Kennedy Administration, like its predecessor, seems disinclined to face up to the ugly fact that the Diem regime, which we are cordially supporting, has failed so completely to cope with social and economic needs, and is so riddled by corruption and the suppression of democratic liberties that it has lost the support of the people of that strife-ridden country.

Only in one major area of foreign policy, in our judgment, is the Kennedy Administration moving toward measurable progress over the approach of its predecessor, and here, ironically, it has encountered bitter opposition in Congress. We refer to the field of foreign economic aid in which President Kennedy has called for basic reforms for which the Eisenhower Administration showed little or no inclination to fight.

It is significant that the Kennedy program calls for a long-term approach to the problem, rather than a year-by-year patching process. It is significant, too, that it is pitched to the constructive theme of assistance rather than, as before, to the negative concept of "stopping Communism." Gone from the preamble of the new foreign aid measure are all references to the "threat of international Communism." Instead, the purpose proclaimed is "to help make an historic demonstration that economic growth and political democracy can go hand in hand to the end that an enlarged community of free, stable, and self-reliant nations can reduce world tensions and insecurity."

Foreign aid, said Secretary of State Dean Rusk in a welcome break with past concepts, "is right . . . because peoples are in need of help, and we are able to help them help themselves; because their children sicken and die while we have the science to save them; because they are illiterate while we have the means of education." This emphasis on aid as a matter of moral principle and not as a reaction to the Communist thrust in the underdeveloped areas of the world represents one of the most hopeful advances in the Administration's thinking on foreign affairs.

Equally significant in its potential for long-run improvement is the new emphasis on long-range assistance. Too often in the past we have parceled out our money on a year-to-year basis which has prevented the recipient countries from embarking on the kind of basic building which requires capital commitments over a period of years. The result has been to emphasize a type of boondoggling project that fails to provide fundamental progress. The heart of the Kennedy program, said Rusk, is "to attempt to forestall crisis—not simply to live from crisis to crisis."

These are brave and hopeful words, but the true test will come—if the legislation passes substantially unaltered—when the new program goes into operation. Too frequently over the years, our economic assistance has gone to shore up a corrupt, reactionary, and rejected status quo. We have long permitted the Communists to become identified in the popular mind with change and reform while we have supported repudiated regimes simply because they seemed to us to be anti-Communist.

"The reason we are on the defensive in so many places," said Walter Lippmann recently, "is that for some ten years we have been doing exactly what Khrushchev expects us to do. We have used money and arms in a long losing attempt to stabilize native governments which, in the name of anti-Communism, are opposed to all important social change. This has been exactly what Khrushchev's dogma calls for—that Communism should be the only alternative to the status quo with its immemorial poverty and privilege."

President Kennedy seemed to accept this critical judgment of American policy when he said: "Too often we have let ourselves appear as friends of the status quo—and the status quo may be $50 a year" [annual average income]. His foreign aid program, as we have indicated, is the one field in which he seems prepared to break with the past and strike out along a more purposeful course than we have

followed up to now. But the achievement of this goal demands even greater changes in the conduct of the program than is indicated in the bare language of the pending legislation.

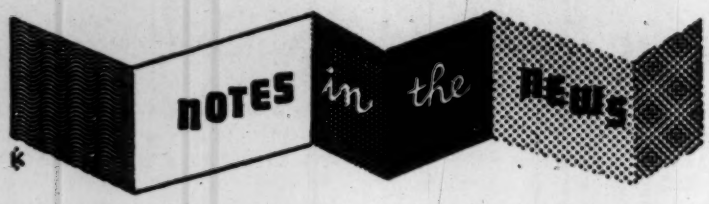
It will require, for example, that we exact minimum standards from recipient countries—standards that will compel the expenditure of American assistance in ways that will supplement domestic programs to benefit the populace as a whole in the critical areas of health, housing, education, and agrarian reform. Too often too much of our aid has gone to line the pockets of the privileged few at the top, and they have used our assistance to maintain an intolerable status quo for the rest of their country.

A striking example of the problem we face is the case of Haiti. This Caribbean country is one of the poorest in the world. The average annual income of its people is only $70, the lowest in the Western Hemisphere. Haiti's president, Dr. Francois Duvalier, rules with the iron fist of despotic dictatorship. Only last month, for example, long before his first term was ending, he had himself proclaimed "reelected" to a second six-year term without in any way consulting the electorate.

During his three years in office, Duvalier has done nothing of consequence to cope with the hunger, misery, illiteracy, and hopelessness of his people. And yet we have continued to pour more than $12,500,000 a year into that country. Little if any has reached the people for whom it was intended. Much of the money has gone to balance a budget which is never made public—a budget devoted in great measure to the maintenance of a military establishment whose only discernible purpose is to keep the people in bondage.

Here, clearly, to use President Kennedy's language, "we have let ourselves appear as friends of the status quo." Here, clearly, is the type of assistance that urgently needs reconsideration if the new foreign aid program is to measure up to the lofty goals proclaimed by the Administration.

Haiti is but one example of the self-defeating character of a sizable proportion of our foreign aid. There is hope, however, that the Kennedy Administration understands the fatal flaws of our policies in the past and is prepared to move ahead, as even Vice President Lyndon Johnson urged, to see that "the benefits of economic development must go directly to the masses rather than to dictators and aristocrats." For all its disturbing reliance on the discredited policies of its predecessor in other areas of foreign policy, the Kennedy Administration deserves a chance to move ahead along the lines so hopefully laid down by its principal spokesmen in this field of foreign economic aid.



Then and Now

The Progressive supported John F. Kennedy for President last year after our first choice had been shot down in campaign and convention combat. We felt then, and said editorially in our November, 1960, issue, that Mr. Kennedy's unequivocal acceptance of the forthright Democratic Party plank on civil rights entitled him to the support of progressives even if there were no other basic differences between the candidates.

At the time, we quoted with warm approval this clear-cut declaration by the Democratic candidate: "There is one domestic issue which is really a worldwide issue—the problem of securing once and for all full equality for all our people. I am particularly proud of the civil rights plank in our Democratic platform."

President Kennedy has now turned his back on that campaign commitment. Senator Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania and Representative Emanuel Celler of New York, whom Mr. Kennedy himself appointed last September to draft legislation designed to redeem the Democratic Party pledge, recently came up with a package program of six civil rights bills aimed directly at translating the party platform into action. The White House response was a chilling statement that Mr. Kennedy "does not consider it necessary at this time to enact new civil rights legislation."

The President and his brother, the Attorney General, have done a far better job of mobilizing executive authority in dealing with race conflict than did the Eisenhower Administration, but this conduct does not release the Administration from its solemn commitment to support the omnibus Clark-Celler program whose intent is to convert the campaign pledge, of which Mr. Kennedy said he was so proud, into legislation.

Curious Silence

Equally disturbing in the President's response to the challenge in the field of civil rights was his curious silence, in his second State of the Union message to Congress, on the official lawlessness that characterized state and local reaction to the heroic Freedom Rides in the South. It seems inconceivable that the President of the United States could have expounded on the State of the Union for some 5,500 words without sparing one word for the historic conflict then raging in Alabama and Mississippi. He doled out a single sentence for the conventional expression of hope that all our citizens might enjoy civil rights, but beyond that he seemed oblivious, in outlining the state of the union, of the bitter struggle in Alabama and Mississippi that was capturing front-page headlines around the world.

President Kennedy is fond of quoting Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt to the effect that the Presidency is primarily a place of moral leadership. We believe it is time for Mr. Kennedy to begin exercising precisely that type of leadership. It must be pleasant for him, we suppose, to observe that the Gallup Poll shows he commands the support

of eighty-four per cent of the people, but some of his supporters would be content to dwell in a somewhat less numerous company if they could begin to love him for the enemies he would make by exercising a greater degree of moral leadership.

Lies & Damned Lies

There are three kinds of lies, observed the sage from Missouri, Mark Twain: "Lies, damned lies, and statistics." And there is probably no group more skilled—or more practiced—in the wholesale use of all three kinds than the American Medical Association. Over the years *The Progressive* has reported a multiplicity of campaigns by the AMA based on distortion, omission, twisted statistics, and flagrantly false assertions.

But while the AMA's vicious tactics are regularly exposed, they are nevertheless effective. Less than a year ago, *The Progressive* reported an AMA-backed "independent" survey, released at the height of debate on old-age medical assistance in Congress, which purported to show that "nine out of every ten older persons report no unfilled medical needs," and that the vast majority of those over sixty-five preferred to finance their own medical care "without government intervention." The survey was soon exposed as a fraud, and its conclusions denounced by most of the sociologists involved in gathering the data. But the damage had been done; effective legislation was killed in favor of a cumbersome, inadequate state-aid bill which includes a pauper's oath. "Again," we reported then, "it was the big lie that won the day."

This year the AMA is once more lobbying in Washington with renewed vigor and even more brazen lies in its efforts to defeat the Social Security-financed old-age health bill backed by the Kennedy Administration. But a series of AMA advertisements wrenched the truth so ruthlessly that Senator Clinton Anderson, a sponsor of the Anderson-King bill, rose on the floor of the Senate to deliver one of the most slashing counterattacks ever launched in Congress against the AMA and its false propaganda. Item by item, statement by statement, Anderson exposed the AMA's lies and distorted statistics. Much of the AMA approach lay in extolling the virtues of the Kerr-Mills bill, which provides Federal funds to states on a matching basis. These are only a few of the claims made by the AMA for the Kerr-Mills program:

¶ Its benefits are unlimited.

¶ Medical aid is authorized for *any* person over sixty-five who needs help.

¶ The new plan has been adopted by forty-six states.

Senator Anderson painstakingly refuted each of these assertions:

Benefits vary widely from state to state, but at best are far from "unlimited." In Kentucky, for example, hospital care is limited to a maximum of three days.

Help under Kerr-Mills is almost exclusively limited to the elderly who are on public assistance rolls. Before anyone can draw benefits, he must submit to a public agency's audit of his private finances—and often those of his immediate relatives and children. In one state, benefits are denied anyone with a gross annual income of $1,000 or more.

At the time the AMA claimed forty-six states were participating in the plan, only seven had put the new law into operation, and prospects for increasing this number were dim. Senator Anderson's home state, for example, launched a new plan but the legislature adjourned without appropriating the necessary funds.

After falsely representing the Kerr-Mills legislation as a wholly satisfactory solution to the medical problems of the aged, rather than the extremely limited and inadequate measure it has been demonstrated to be, the AMA turned on the Anderson-King bill proposing to finance some aspects of medical care under the time-proved Social Security program.

"It would," said AMA, "establish a compulsory health-care program for everyone covered by Social Security regardless of need."

It would do nothing of the kind, of course, as Senator Anderson pointed out. The bill does not provide for a "health-care" program, but rather is limited to the payment of certain hospital and nursing services—not for "everyone" under Social Security but only for those sixty-five or over. Payment for the plan is compulsory—one of the few true AMA statements. But taxes to support the Kerr-Mills program are compulsory, too, a fact ignored by the AMA.

Then the AMA picked up the same familiar bludgeon it has been using on progressive legislation for many years. The proposed plan was "socialism." "The Socialist Party itself," cried the AMA, "calls this socialized medicine"—a charge indignantly denied by the Socialist Party ("If only it were," sighed Irwin Suall, the Socialists' national secretary.)

The AMA charged that the Federal government would invade the privacy of the doctor's office (any interference by the government is specifically forbidden by the bill) and that the patient would be deprived of freedom of choice of doctor (a freedom carefully protected by the bill).

Then the AMA, in a complete backward flip, criticized the Anderson-King proposal not because it covered "everyone," but because it would exclude "millions of the poor and destitute who can never qualify for Social Security." The truth is that fewer than two million (about ten per cent) of those over sixty-five would not qualify immediately under the proposed or some other existing health program, and this percentage would gradually decline in the years ahead.

The AMA claims the Social Security trust fund "has been running in the red since 1957, and further obligations could bankrupt it." In only three of twenty-four years has outgo exceeded income, and the fund's trustees estimate that, in the decade ahead, only in 1962 will the fund run "in the red." Assets now are $20 billion, and are expected to reach $85 billion by 1975.

In sum, there is scarcely a word of truth in the AMA's frenzied attack on a Frankenstein monster that exists only in the medical association's own fevered imagination. But there are hopeful signs that the once invincible power of the AMA has developed some weaknesses. The tight little cadre of doctors that presumes to speak for the entire American medical profession is facing more opposition within its ranks than it cares to admit. Increasingly, medical spokesmen at local levels dare to dispute the AMA. And Congress, certainly, is no longer the silent, obedient servant of the AMA it has been for so many years.

The Anderson-King measure is a "pale version" of the Forand bill, which went down to defeat a year ago, but it represents a long step forward given the tragic plight in which millions of our older citizens find themselves today. We are convinced the bill would become law if the needs and effects were examined objectively. If Congress again bypasses this urgent health need, it will be in large measure because of the lies, damned lies, and false statistics of the AMA.

Anything Goes

The economic intricacies of the Kennedy Administration's new tax program are liable to leave most of us in a cloud of confusion. But the practice of writing off as tax-free "business expenses" such juicy items as $2,000 for football tickets, a $1,500 Las Vegas vacation, and a $13,750 liquor bill is something everyone can grasp. Simple morality, more than economics, is involved. The wholesale abuse of the business expense account has become such a national scandal that there is almost universal popular support for the portion of President Kennedy's new tax plan that would drastically reduce the almost limitless amounts business now writes off tax-free.

In a stinging speech on the floor of the Senate, Illinois' Senator Paul H. Douglas recently cited some outrageous examples of expense account items which have been allowed under the present law:

¶ A beverage manufacturer was allowed $10,903 for entertaining customers and their wives at the Kentucky Derby.

¶ A supplier claimed—and was allowed—$112,000 in expenses for a yacht, plus $362,000 for a ranch, hunting lodge, night club and other expenses.

¶ A shoe manufacturer was permitted to deduct $16,943 for a yacht which he claimed was necessary to demonstrate to customers a non-skid sole on a sneaker his company made.

¶ A mortuary establishment was allowed $26,495 for yacht expenses, $2,875 for a cottage and entertainment, and an additional $22,630 for personal residence and entertainment.

¶ Another mortician tried—but failed—to charge off his grocery expenses at a supermarket, on the grounds that, in shopping, his wife was finding favor with prospective customers.

¶ A manufacturer wrote off $375,000 for resort facilities on a subtropical island, an airplane, fishing cruisers, and entertainment.

¶ A dairy owner took his wife on an African safari, with stops in London, Paris, Rome, Cairo, and Alexandria, and was allowed a $16,816 business expense deduction.

¶ Doughboy Industries, Inc., wrote off $10,000 for redecorating the home of its principal officer, plus $6,600 for an adjacent swimming pool.

'Liquored & Girled'

In 1958, Senator Douglas reported, the Ohio State University school of journalism polled the presidents of 650 of the nation's largest corporations. The question was: "What is the most expensive gift—which you, personally, know about—that any company has given to gain a benefit?" The answers included:

¶ A trip to Jamaica.

¶ A Cadillac.

¶ A trip to Europe.

¶ The loan of a yacht—"Listen to this," said Senator Douglas. " 'The loan of a yacht, liquored, fueled, and girled.' . . . This is quite a comment on the morals of the times."

Douglas pointed out that it was not the Internal Revenue Department that was being ultra-lenient, but rather it was the courts' interpretation of the present law that made such outlandish "business expenses" deductible. The Administration has proposed to close such gaping holes in the tax net by these changes in the law:

¶ Expenses for entertainment and entertainment facilities would be disallowed.

¶ Deductions for gifts would be limited to $10 a year for each recipient.

¶ Club dues and fees would not be chargeable as a business expense.

¶ Food and beverage expense would be allowed only for genuine business conferences, and limited to something like $7 a person for each meal.

¶ Travel combining business and pleasure would be pro-rated. Only the business portion would be tax deductible.

The irritant in the present system is, of course, that it costs the taxpayer fifty-two cents every time some corporation executive spends a dollar of deductible money. As for the overall effect on the economy, Lucius Beebe, who is as experienced as anyone in spending money lavishly, wrote recently in the San Francisco *Chronicle*:

"Probably corporate expense accounts are the greatest single inflationary agency in the entire national economy, in addition to which well-upholstered jerks preempting the best of everything in restaurants, theaters, night clubs, and airplanes are a damned poor advertisement for big business . . . An abatement of the expense account society could win the government wild plaudits . . ."

We would be happy to add a lusty cheer if Congress gives us the opportunity.

Sin of Omission

The most glaring weakness in the Administration's tax program is not what is included, but is pointedly omitted, in violation of the Democrats' campaign promises. No mention is made of the mineral depletion allowances, of which the 27.5 per cent oil allowance is the most inequitable. Nor have the liberals generally raised their voices against the Administration's glaring omission.

Senator William Proxmire, the Wisconsin Democrat who as a freshman upstart carried on a running battle against the then Senator Lyndon Johnson and the Texas oil forces, did lodge a protest. In a Senate speech, Proxmire said:

"This is another reminder to those naive enough to need one that the one big private interest that can throw its weight around in this Administration is oil.

"The Administration has just made a series of far-reaching recommendations that have as their express purpose greater tax equity. But was the oil depletion allowance included? No. Dividends, foreign earnings, and expense accounts are hit hard and directly. But oil continues its political charmed life and escapes once again. In fact, oil depletion is the one ripe and obvious tax loophole to escape the President's recommendation."

The Liberals and the New Cult of Power

by KARL E. MEYER

THERE IS a touch of both relish and morbidity in the way Washington insiders still dwell on the Cuban misadventure. Who was to blame? How could it happen? Will Allen Dulles go? This is the bemused refrain, and when a White House official appears at a cocktail party, he is treated somewhat like a prisoner in the dock, badgered by a dozen inquisitors armed with the rectitude of hindsight.

But the inquest fastens largely on the question of administrative failure. Both before and after the invasion, what are termed "moral" considerations have been swept, for the most part, to the periphery of the debate. Yet, although government agencies have blundered before, it is an unpleasant novelty for the United States to be plausibly assailed as a liar, lawbreaker, and imperialist bully.

Seen in perspective, therefore, the Cuban invasion poses two related problems, one concerning the event itself and the other the reaction to it. I should like to take a brief detour in order to explore the general political topography which helps to explain why the failure of sin has become more fascinating to discuss than the fact of sin itself.

Those who have acquiesced or remained indifferent to violations of principle are not, I think, wicked nor are they fools. Instead, it can be argued, they have been mesmerized by the cult of "toughness," by a way of looking at power which has become especially fashionable along the New Frontier.

To begin with, our moral sensibilities as a nation have been blunted by the sheer scale of the horrors we have witnessed during the past generation. We have seen presumably civilized nations such as Germany descend into a primal slime, and this shock was compounded by Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The first use of nuclear weapons, we can ill forget, was sanctioned by decent democrats who felt that the ends justified searing two cities with deadly rays.

Our skins, already toughened by the hot war, were further hardened by the cold war. If anything, the circumstances of the present struggle are more frustrating than those of an actual shooting conflict. Barring a nuclear showdown, the alternative is an uneasy coexistence with a totalitarian adversary that blandly disregards what we feel are the rules of the game.

Thus we see the Communist bloc register one success after another by employing its principles of subversion and ideological warfare, while our principles—so it seems—handcuff us and prevent a response in kind. As the currency of principle is cheapened, the temptation is strong for us to practice a little political judo too.

These are pressures felt by most of us, but in addition, the liberal community has special psychic ailments of its own. The tag of "softness" acquired a lethal sting because of its potency during the McCarthy years. Liberals thus feel a defensive need to "prove" their anti-Communist credentials, although even the most eloquent philippics are liable to leave the "toughs" unimpressed.

Finally, the most politically sophisticated members of the liberal community have been exposed to a literature of corrosive disenchantment. A series of iconoclastic books has, like a chain of firecrackers, exploded belief in the simpler ideals of the past.

An extreme example is the approach fostered by James Burnham, an American philosopher whose career has charted an eccentric parabola from Trotskyism to McCarthyism. In *The Managerial Revolution* (1941) and *The Machiavellians* (1945), Burnham popularized the views of three Europeans—Mosca, Michels, and Pareto—who contended, at bottom, that politics is invariably a swindle and that professed ideals are more often than not a mask for the interests of a ruling elite.

In Great Britain, a similar attitude was applied to foreign relations by E. H. Carr in his influential *The 20 Years' Crisis.* Carr contended that the doctrines of international law were a form of humbug concocted by nations benefiting from the status quo and used to repress the rivals who wanted a change in the power balance. Beneath the velvet glove of international law, in short, there was the iron fist of national interest.

A comparable skepticism has flavored scores of books in the United States. In a brilliantly argued and written series of works, Richard Hofstadter reasoned that the pretensions of the reformer often shielded the itch of status seeking. The quarrels between liberals and conservatives, he further argued, were often more rhetorical than real. It was consistent with this tradition that the Progressives and Populists were subsequently named as the ultimate culprits responsible for Senator McCarthy.

In other words, an air of disenchantment became *de rigeur* among

KARL E. MEYER, editorial writer for the Washington Post and a regular contributor to The Progressive, recently wrote a widely praised book, "The New America: Politics and Society in the Age of the Smooth Deal." He has written for Harper's, The Reporter, Commentary, and the New Republic.

the young intellectuals who were determined not to be fooled. When James MacGregor Burns, later the biographer of President Kennedy, wrote a book about Franklin D. Roosevelt, the title characteristically was taken from Machiavelli, *The Lion and the Fox,* and an appendix was added which discussed the secrets of leadership with approved clinical coldness.

But the most spectacular application of unsentimental realism has been in discussions of nuclear strategy. Here it almost seemed as if it were a contest to see who could be the most cold-blooded, who could best stare Medusa in the face without turning to stone. Henry Kissinger makes clear his disdain for those who draw back in horror from the prospect of using nuclear weapons; it is an attitude, he says, which strips us of choice. And Herman Kahn has achieved a special status by his forthright contemplation of an atomic war. "Despite a widespread belief to the contrary," Dr. Kahn chillingly reassures us, "objective studies indicate that even though the amount of human tragedy would be greatly increased in the postwar world, the increase would not preclude normal and happy lives for the majority of survivors and their descendants."

In simplified form, these attitudes help to explain the moral climate in the White House when the Cuban decision was discussed. The activists of the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency were in one corner, pressing for a plan which would enable the United States to "do something" about Castro. And the Harvard dons in the other corner, who might have been expected to resist the counsel of the toughs, were new to power, fearful of seeming "soft," and perhaps shaken in their confidence in principles that were once regarded as "self-evident."

What Walter Lippmann has called the "acids of modernity" have long been at work on the generation now in charge of the White House. Only those who themselves had ceased to believe in the efficacy or rightness of world law could have gone along with so little evident protest in accepting a proposal which meant that the United States would violate national, hemispheric, and international laws. And perhaps it is understandable that men who were disenchanted about political ideals might underestimate the appeal of Castroism on the Cuban masses.

After the invasion, the post mortems were often symptomatic of the same tendencies. Max Lerner, one of the doyens of liberal journalism, said in the New York *Post* that he felt the invasion was ill-timed but that nonetheless, "There is no suicide imperative which comes built-in with the process of democracy"—that is, a little dirty work is justified in wiping out a regime that menaces our security.

In all this, I speak for myself and make no pretense to moral superiority. No doubt the problems are difficult, and Castro a vexatious fellow. Nor am I implying that pessimists like Carr, Kissinger, and Kahn perform a disservice. Their arguments assuredly need to be heard.

But there is a worrisome imbalance suggested by the unanimity. The intellectuals seem too often to have accepted the premises of the toughs that power can be divorced from principle, that the exigencies of the cold war justify more and more and more departures from national traditions, and that the processes of democracy are somehow a handicap in the struggle against tyranny.

During the Eisenhower years, the common sense of the President served as a brake against some of the more extravagant proposals of the "toughs." But if the bright young men in the White House—who can speak scornfully of the "naivete" of Mr. Eisenhower—if these officials themselves lose their perspective and succumb to the cult of toughness, then the republic may lose its hold on those moorings which have tied it to principle.

Who was really being "naive" in the Cuban affair? Who if not the "toughs" with their plausible simplicities based on an ignorance of Cuba, people, and the traditions of free government? No assumption could be more "naive" than to have expected that Castro's regime could have been ousted by a small army of invaders whose banner was largely negative, consisting for the most part of anti-Communism. Moreover, is it not arguable that the very amoral assumptions of the Cuban venture predestined its failure?

The premise that was most basic to the enterprise was probably the most misguided. This was the assumption that change in Castro's Cuba could be manipulated by guns, money, and press releases with a minimum of attention to the problems of revolutionary ideology. There could be no better expression of the contempt of the "toughs" for political ideas than the hapless Revolutionary Council put together under CIA auspices and intended to supplant Castro. The one group among the opposition factions with any real underground support and popular following was the leftist Peoples Revolutionary Movement led by Manuel Ray. As is well known by now, the MRP was shouldered out of the whole enterprise, its advice ignored, and its underground partisans in Cuba uninformed of the attack. The best explanation seems to be that the MRP was not docile and pro-American enough.

Assume that the invasion had succeeded. What kind of government would the Council have given Cuba? It is a reasonable hypothesis that among the first acts of Miro Cardona's regime would have been the restoration of American property seized by Castro. A Council which was so conservative in coloration and so pliable in exile might be expected to accede to this inevitable demand. If this were to happen, it would be taken in Latin America as a confirmation that our real quarrel with Castro was based on his seizure of U.S. property rather than his links with the Communist bloc. To the "toughs," one supposes, question like this are just matters for airy speculation among theological seminarians.

A more grotesque mistake involved the entry of Batista followers into the rebel camps. This, too, was consistent with the philosophy of the "toughs"—e.g., all anti-Communists should fight side by side. The typical military view was stated after the invasion, in another connection, by General Leslie R. Groves. "In my opinion a most unfortunate philosophy has been advanced in recent years," said General Groves, now re-

tired. "This is that a soldier must know what he is fighting for and all the reasons behind it. A properly trained soldier does not have to be convinced of the righteousness of his cause."

One might demur that it does help, a little. Fidel Castro began his guerrilla war in the Sierra Maestra with only twelve followers and yet he was able to humble a modern, well equipped army that was properly trained (in part by a U.S. mission in Havana)—but was *not* convinced of the righteousness of its cause. But then Castro did not have the invaluable counsel of both the CIA and the Pentagon when he was combating Batista. It is worth speculating where he might be today if he had had all his decisions made for him in Washington by the hard-boiled realists. Yet throughout the whole invasion "episode" it seems to have been the premise of the planners that Cubans were not competent to make decisions for themselves.

In carrying out the operation, the "toughs" were frequently annoyed by the curiosity of the American press. Even after it was over, there was a widespread conviction here that if the press had played along, the whole venture might have succeeded. There was special annoyance about the exposure of a "cover story" concerning a bombing attack made by B-25s on Cuba just prior to the invasion. But who would know better if the planes were in fact defecting craft or whether they were flown from foreign bases? Would Castro have been fooled? Or the American people?

To the "toughs," one assumes, this is not a matter of great moment. Yet the genius of our system is based on the assumption that criticism is the best curative for governmental error. This criticism, in turn, is dependent on a press that at least makes an effort to report what is really going on. Destroy credibility in the press and you knock the cotter-pin from the system—and in the process give the world the impression that there is little choice between *Pravda* and the New York *Times*.

Carrying the point further, it is precisely the impression that there is a difference between Soviet and American methods that constitutes our ultimate resource in the cold war. It does not startle the world when the Soviet Ambassador tells an outrageous lie and when Moscow violates international law. But when Adlai Stevenson is caught in a fib, and when the champion of world morality is found flouting the law, it is fair to ask who has lost more—the Communists or ourselves? Since we are not prepared to follow the Communist example to the ultimate conclusion, it is worth wondering how we can profit by emulating them.

The rebuttal, presumably, is that Cuba posed a mortal threat and that the short-cuts were justified, even though they cost us some loss of moral face before the world. Here we come to the real heart of the "tough" analysis—Cuba is only ninety miles away. Yet, now that it is over, the importance given to the Cuban threat seems slightly hysterical. If indeed Castro posed a mortal threat, President Kennedy would presumably have sent the Marines before a Soviet missile vaporized Miami Beach. That he has not done so seems to bear out the contention that Cuba is a thorn in the flesh but not a dagger in the heart—at least not yet.

Turned around, the fact that Cuba is *only* ninety miles away is our ultimate ace card. As a satellite, Cuba could at best become only a precarious outpost in Khrushchev's empire. Given the pull of economic self-interest and the insurrectionary temper of the Cuban people, it is difficult to believe that Castroism in its present form can represent a permanent solution for the island. The real peril of Castroism is less in Cuba than elsewhere in Latin America—but this is an area where we can act affirmatively with law and our best traditions on our side.

The Cuban invasion should have taught us that we are poor disciples of Machiavelli. The hollowness of the "tough" analysis ought to embolden those who are now intimidated by the cult of power. Thomas Jefferson may still have more to say to us in our present predicament than the Latin American desk of the CIA.

Out of the recent disaster perhaps the liberals in Washington may acquire a new skepticism about the realism of "realists" who deduce all policy from the axioms of power. Perhaps, too, there will be a greater confidence in the older American principles that could have saved us from involvement in this wretched affair. Organizing foreign invasions, breaking laws, and telling lies are not activities that come easily to a country with the principles we profess.

THE RIDERS

by MURRAY KEMPTON

Mississippi

THE DISTANCE from Washington to the wagons of Greyhound and Trailways is the distance to the farthest stars. Its measurement was announced most definitively on a Sunday night in May in an old Negro Church in Montgomery, Alabama.

Perhaps a thousand members of the Montgomery Improvement Association, those cooks and janitors and country preachers who were walkers in the bus boycott and have ever since been laughers in the dark, were gathering to greet those of their children who had ridden the bus from Birmingham and had been beaten by a mob and were waiting to set forth upon the road again.

For the first time in the long legend of the assemblies of Montgomery Negroes, they did not meet alone. All afternoon, in the park across from the First Baptist Church, there had gathered silent clumps of teen-age couples and men in shirt-

sleeves to watch them go up the steps and wonder what to do to them.

By eight o'clock these curious sullen watchers had hardened into the vanguard of a mob and were pushing Attorney General Robert Kennedy's soft cordon of United States marshals back across a pavement beachhead the size of a postage stamp. The peace of Montgomery and the honor of the nation had passed into the hands of gallant but overmatched conscripts whose fingers seemed already blistering from the tense and unfamiliar grip of the billy.

And here began the definition of distance from Washington to Montgomery. The image of a United States marshal as symbol of the awe and majesty of the government of the United States had been a favorite of President Kennedy's when he was a candidate. Such visions come easily to teachers of constitutional law in Cambridge. But in the too, too flabby flesh, not even their six shooters could make these middle-aged men seem anything but overmatched.

The marshals tried a flourish of tear gas; it floated back up the steps and Negroes came out of the beleagured church coughing and wiping their eyes. The cooks and janitors and country preachers had every reason to believe themselves under bombardment. Even so, they sang on, their chorus ragged and filled with the sadness of the loss of the hope they had held out for the white South five years ago.

They had closed their windows against the gas, and there was not even the rumble outside to indicate what was happening. The high old room became stifling. The Rev. Mr. B. D. Lambert began the prayer chant:

"This is a great moment in history. We thank thee, Lord, for the protection Thou has given us. You have blessed us in so many ways that we have not the words to describe them. You are too wise to make a mistake and too powerful to fail.

"Bless our enemy

"And we thank our Father for these fine young people."

One of the bus riders felt the bandage on the back of his head and looked embarrassed at this compliment from a grown-up.

"You, God, have been with us since 1955."

A visitor came up from the pavement outside to whisper reports of a car burned and rocks hurled, and then stopped, caught up, as the Reverend Mr. Lambert began to move the church into a world beyond troubles and menaces.

"Bless," he cried, "all those cowards standing outside that can't fight unless they've got a mob to come with them.

"Bless that stupid governor of ours."

"God holds us in the hollow of His hand," the Reverend Mr. Lambert beat on. "We don't know whether we get home or not. But we are with Him in His house."

He finished. There was not a breath of air in the room. A choir began to sing. Here in their pathetic citadel—cut off from the terror outside—one suddenly understood that the cooks and janitors were merely marking time. They were waiting for the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, who was in the basement talking by telephone to Robert Kennedy. He came upstairs to say:

"We aren't going to become panicky. We will stand up for what we know is right. I just talked to Attorney General Kennedy."

His tone was matter-of-fact; the fans went futilely beating the heavy air before faces unsurprised. From Washington, Montgomery is far away; from Montgomery, Washington is next door. A Montgomery cook takes it for granted that, while she sits under siege, Martin Luther King can call the Attorney General of the United States on a princess phone downstairs.

"He says no mob will be allowed to assemble."

And, there, finally, the distance was measured. Martin Luther King sitting at a telephone, the noise all about him, and the Attorney General explaining that no mob would be allowed to form.

"Still they are at the door." He was reminding them that, as ever, they were all alone. "Fear not. We have gone too far to turn back."

Somewhere, in the world from which they were sealed off, the marshals and the fire trucks drove the mob off to disperse downtown to riot and throw rocks at the houses and cars of stray Negroes. The governor of Alabama had ordered out the National Guard. The church windows were opened to quiet streets populated by jittery boys with bayonets.

A member of the congregation looked out:

"Do you think I feel safe with that protection?" he asked. "I see two of the hoodlums I work with downtown and they're carrying bayonets."

Still this was a restoration of law and order, and Robert F. Kennedy could go to sleep. Police Commissioner L. B. Sullivan, who the day before had laughed at reporters who begged him to break up the mob that was beating the occupants of the bus from Montgomery, was standing on the steps trying to persuade the leaders of the meeting to go home. They know—and it was hard to believe that Sullivan did not—what was waiting for them there. They went on, King spoke, the choirs sang; it was cool in the church now; little children were going to sleep on the plush in front of the altar.

At midnight, Henry V. Graham, state adjutant general, came to read to them Governor Patterson's proclamation of martial law. It was a horrid stew of pompous lies blaming the victims for the crime; General Graham read it with proper embarrassment right down to the words about the great seal of Alabama, and closed by saying that, for their safety and the well-being of the city and the good of the state, he was ordering them to stay there until morning.

They rose, gracious and patient to the last, once more insulted according to the habit of their state, and gave him their applause.

The misty glasses of the Reverend Mr. Solomon Seay, their presiding officer, grew heavy with reproach.

"I don't think," he said, "that was a document for cheering. I want to be respectful of our leaders and of the government of Alabama. But I think you ought to take those cheers back."

The repentant heads nodded back, and they began singing. Then they sat back to endure, as they have endured so many other things, the hours

until the dawn. They were free sooner than General Graham had promised. At 3:15, the Montgomery police radio broadcast:

"We have just heard that the National Guard has turned those niggers loose from that church. If you see any of them on the way home, look out for them."

In such a spirit, law and order had been restored to Montgomery.

The next day, law and order in Montgomery began trying persons arrested after Saturday's beatings in the bus station.

The vengeance of this outraged community fell first on James and Anna Gach, two white bystanders, who had demanded too loudly that the police did nothing to protect the victims of Saturday's mob. Mrs. Gach was alleged to have insulted the free citizenry by crying out: "How can you cheer on people that are kicking the ones who are down?" Her husband had interfered with a policeman in the performance of his duties by demanding to know why he did not help a boy lying on the pavement being kicked by six people. The court fined Anna Gach $100 and James Gach $200. There were no other cases of direct participation in these events called that day.

Two days later, Anna Gach was fired from her job in the composing room of the Montgomery *Advertiser*.

The spirit of Montgomery in recollection was the spirit of Police Commissioner Sullivan at the scene of the bloodletting. To reporters who had watched him as approving witness, Sullivan had said:

"We have no intention of standing guard for a bunch of troublemakers coming into our city and making trouble."

The notion that the freedom riders were troublemakers seemed, with a much better will, to have been Robert Kennedy's, too. He did his best at a distance to protect them; he moved as swiftly as he could to restore the Alabama equivalent of law and order; but there was every sign that he did not understand the fundamental issue.

The limitations of the official attitude were heavy on Martin Luther King as he sat on the porch of the Reverend Ralph Abernathy, the hostile eyes of his protecting guardsmen upon him:

"They ate. The wagon was already loaded and ready to depart; all they had to do was to get into it. Boon would drive them out to the road, to the farmer's stable where the surrey had been left. He stood beside the wagon, in silhouette on the sky, turbaned like a Paythan and taller than any there, the bottle tilted. Then he flung the bottle from his lips without even lowering it, spinning and glinting in the faint starlight, empty.

" 'Them that's going,' he said, 'get in the goddamn wagon. Them that ain't, get out of the goddamn way.' "

—WILLIAM FAULKNER, *The Bear*

"Has the President ever said that this is a moral question? Oh, he talks about the law of the land. But suppose he came down here. Would they throw rocks at him?"

One thought of a busload of Cabinet members, each side by side with his token Negro assistant, rolling into the Greyhound terminal at Montgomery and getting out and getting back on to be arrested at Jackson.

The Negro is truly alone in the South. He is, even more than anywhere else, the invisible man; Robert Kennedy cannot be blamed if, thinking of Alabama, he thinks of white Democrats; the necessities of our political system make all other kinds and colors strangers to him. To him, as the week went on, the issue—with violence ended—became mere public relations; he pleaded with unknown colored children to cease their rides because they were embarrassing the President of the United States on the stage of the world.

They did not listen; two days later, they climbed on the next wagon and made a strange voyage in a sealed bus—commandeered out of interstate commerce—guarded by troops to Jackson where they were at once arrested. Mississippi and the Justice Department alike wanted them simply to disappear from wherever it was they had come; the Justice Department asked and Jackson agreed that they be let off without cash bail and their crimes forgotten if they would depart in peace.

They refused, these strange invaders, not merely bail but the clemency of a fine and went off to the county farm. Day came after day, and more of them came and were arrested and stood trial and went to the county farm. There was no way of controlling them; no one in authority knew who they were.

The mere condition of their anonymity reflected the moral issue they embodied. They were terribly young, most of them, and their common weapon and possession were their bodies. Most of them had jail time from the sit-ins; they had that particular spirit without which no demonstrator can be a human being bearable to his fellows: they did not want to be arrested and beaten but would if they had to.

They sing whenever they are frightened and lonely; their jailers almost beg them not to sing. The great majority are students at Jim Crow Southern schools, whose names are unfamiliar outside the borders of their states. They are a generation neither of conformists nor of rebels. Riding into Mississippi, they were sleepy and stretched into the immemorial slouch of adolescence; they are, by all accounts, not the brightest children nor the most ambitious in their classes.

A sophisticated Northern student reported after seeing his first lunch counter sitdown in North Carolina:

"You know, I expected to see immensely-controlled hipsters sitting there reading their Kierkegaard. And it was nothing but a bunch of kids."

And in a week in May, the Attorney General of the United States and the governors of Mississippi and Alabama sat up all night wondering about the intentions of a bunch of colored children.

Jim Eastland took the privilege of the Senate to denounce a long list of sponsors of the Committee on Racial Equality for various subversions of the public order. These grown-ups would have been surprised to know that they controlled these children. The Freedom Ride was tarrying in Montgomery when a visitor asked Martin Luther King when or if he thought the wagon would roll again. That, King answered, was up to the

kids. They were reading the papers, and they were coming to Montgomery with no call from anywhere but inside themselves.

The night before they left for Jackson, they drank cokes in a house in Montgomery, and Ruby Smith, who is twenty and from Atlanta, explained why they had to go on.

"If we stopped now," she said, "it would have been proved that violence can overcome non-violence."

Their children will never know their place in the history of their time. They are unnamed and unnoticed. Yet, riding to Jackson, when the songs stopped and they had stared long enough at the cold backs of the National Guardsmen, they almost automatically went to the back of the bus and reviewed over again the subject which never tires them, how they must conduct themselves against every conceivable challenge.

Their voices were low; then, near the end, one came louder: "We stand in a row, and then, if there is violence, and it starts to break us, we clasp hands and stand as long as we can."

They are simple and thus strangers to a society by now habituated to the illusion that nothing but the complex is consequential. They care not for glory. They go, without doubt or regret, where they want to go. They have no ties to power or fashion. They are the children of the cooks in Montgomery, who walked in patient faith that their bodies were enough to prove that the past and present need not be the future. The Negro has endured these many years and waited for them.

They come from below; we must by now, I suppose, accept the condition that those above are always surprised and often shocked by the appearance of the face that rises up and looks at them from below.

They are, then, an inconvenience to established authority. But it is said that Robert F. Kennedy did his best to protect them without understanding just what a precious piece of the legend of America it had fallen to him to defend. Where they go, the glory of our history goes; where they land, the future opens, and, more terrible than an army with banners, sleepy adolescents climb off buses to meet whatever beast is waiting for them.

The Fruits of Price Investigation

by SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER

On July 9, 1957, the Subcommittee on Anti-trust and Monopoly of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary began hearings on what Gardiner C. Means in 1935 termed "administered prices." Administered prices are those which, in contrast to competitive prices determined by market supply and demand, are arbitrarily set and held constant, or, on occasion, even increased despite a fall in demand. Now, after four years, twenty-six volumes of hearings numbering 16,505 pages, and four reports, it may be appropriate to inquire what the Subcommittee has accomplished.

The inquiry has rested basically upon a detailed examination of administered prices in four important industries:

¶ The first industry examined, steel, produces one of the nation's most basic materials; it has long been referred to as the bellwether of the economy.

¶ Next came an inquiry into the automobile industry, which is not only the nation's largest but one that exercises a pivotal influence upon the rate of activity in the economy generally.

¶ Bread, the "staff of life," is among the nation's half dozen most important industries. It also presents an interesting example of an industry in which there is no technological basis whatever for the concentration of sales in a few large companies, yet nonetheless is changing from a market-determined to an administered-price status.

¶ Finally, we examined the drug industry. The importance of drugs lies not so much in the overall size of the business (although with annual sales of $2.5 billion this is hardly negligible), but rather in its crucial relationship to health and indeed life itself.

We then turned to the heads of the anti-trust agencies and asked what action could be taken against the simultaneous price increases, identical bids, and similar manifestations of group behavior we had uncovered. In essence, their position was that competition could be restored only if they were fortunate enough to come across "hard-core" evidence of meetings and agreements—overt conspiracy.

These professions of futility dramatize the basic irony underlying the enforcement of the anti-trust laws. Although now and then an exception, such as electrical goods, turns up to prove the rule, the typical "hard-core" case involves enterprises, such as Louisiana strawberry firms or Maine lobster fishermen, so small and so poor that they are unable to afford the legal fees of corporation law firms, and thus go about the business of fixing prices in the direct, old-fashioned way—through meetings and price-fixing agreements. In the process they leave behind all kinds of evidence of "hard-core" violations.

But if the same result is achieved by price leadership, with, say, U.S. Steel raising its price, which is then matched by all of the other steel companies (some of which enjoy even higher profit rates and appear to have lower costs), the anti-trust agencies have insisted that they are powerless to act. This position, expressed before our Subcommittee during the previous Administration, represents a tragic retrogression in enforcement.

During the late 1940's and early 1950's, the anti-trust agencies had

made considerable progress in establishing conspiracy through the economic evidence of its operations and effects. Courts were increasingly holding that such phenomena as identical bids could not possibly be explained as the result of mere chance but must reflect an "implied conspiracy" or "planned common course of action" and that therefore the law had been violated even though no proof of meetings or formal agreements had been uncovered. Unless this doctrine of "conscious parallelism" is revived, the case for new legislation to deal with the problem of administered pricing becomes very strong indeed.

But what kind of legislation? There is the rub. During our hearings outstanding economists who have specialized on this subject described the alternative public policies. On the one hand is the viewpoint, expressed by Dr. Ben Lewis, chairman of the department of economics at Oberlin College, that whether we like it or not the logic of events is working inexorably toward direct controls:

"Tutored by its attorneys, bathed, barbered and cosmeticized by Madison Avenue, nourished and sanctified by war and cold war, and enthroned by public opinion which sees only goodness in bigness that is well mannered and well behaved, bigness exhibits the supreme confidence and gracious assurance that bespeak stature, status, and a clear conscience. Bigness was once the bad boy in Sunday School; now it sits on the vestry. It may not yet have acquired a full-sized soul, but the contract has been let and the press has been alerted. Bigness spreads its protective arms benevolently over thousands of small, less favored firms, and dispenses justice among them as it is given to see justice. It keeps them alive—in the aggregate—and in the main tolerably happy—and in line. Bigness is here and, what distinguishes its present from its earlier position, we all know that bigness is here to stay. I suggest that competition, today, is captive to bigness—that today's competition is more controlled than controlling, its temper lessened, its tautness gone slack . . .

"My own prediction—and I stress that I am predicting, not prescribing—is that the years ahead will see a great increase in conscious, collective, governmental controls and of governmental enterprise; and that bigness will be a major focal point of the development. The development will reflect a growing, intensified concern over the private possession of economic power so vast that even its possessors are frightened by the implications of their holdings. . . . The conviction that great power over the economy must reside only in a government of the people will be acted on relentlessly, bluntly, and with force. Events will count more heavily than fine logic in determining the action, but events will surely occur, and public action to repossess the power to economize will surely follow."

While agreeing on the general nature of the problem, another group of authorities, including Fritz Machlup, Corwin Edwards, and Walter Adams, held that not only is competition preferable to controls but that it is not too late to make competition work; that to this end the government may act in many ways in addition to anti-trust enforcement, such as reducing tariffs; that bigness is not the inevitable result of technology or anything else; and that breaking up the giants would not impair efficiency. In the words of Walter Adams:

"Size, in the sense of market control, is the fact of life, and the essence of the problem, in our concentrated industries. Restrictive practices are merely superficial symptoms of the disease. Given a market structure dominated by a few firms, it seems inevitable that prices be administered, that there be a deep-seated and characteristic fear of spoiling the market, that price competition be frowned upon as unethical chiseling and cut-throat rivalry deserving of punishment. Given such a market structure, behavior which inhibits or regulates price competition and which gives the results of collusion and conspiracy must be expected. Therefore, if competition is our goal, and I repeat that, if competition *is* our goal, the only real solution, the most effective remedy, is dissolution, divorcement, and divestiture; trust-busting in the literal sense.

"Industrial concentration . . . is not inevitable . . . It is the concomitant of unimaginative, shortsighted, or corrupt exercise of governmental power. It is man-made, not God-made, and since it is made by man, it can be changed by man."

Herblock in The Washington Post

"Surely You've Heard of Supply-and-Demand"

Still a third group, including Edwin D. Nourse, Gardiner G. Means, and J. Kenneth Galbraith, appeared to express the hope that standards of desirable economic performance and behavior could be evolved and ways and means short of direct governmental intervention in the economic process could be devised to induce the heads of large firms to operate their corporations in accordance with these standards.

Regardless of the differences in their proposed remedies, these authorities seemed to be in general agreement that the time for action is now. But they also recognized that the problem is not going to be solved tomorrow. In this, they were merely manifesting their awareness that an inevitable time lag exists between the advancement of a proposal for legislative action and its final adoption.

But this is not to say that nothing can be done and done now. For one thing, there has come out of our hearings a growing recognition that the consumer is the forgotten man not only when capital and labor sit down to divide up the spoils of technological advance, but when governmental agencies act on matters which impinge directly upon his interests. Together with nineteen other Senators, I have introduced a bill,

S. 1688, to establish a Department of Consumers of Cabinet rank which would have the right and duty to call to the attention of the regulatory agencies the effects of their actions on consumers before they are taken. The new department would act as a central clearinghouse for consumer information and complaints, bringing under one roof the varying agencies of the government whose primary responsibility is to the consumer interest. In introducing the bill, I referred to the preoccupation of the regulatory agencies in settling conflicting claims among rival groups of producers:

"Is it surprising, then, that amid this constant tug of war between contesting private interests there is little room for the consumer to be heard? And, unlike these private pressure groups which are well organized, highly disciplined in the art of exerting influence, and omnipresent when decisions are to be made, consumers are scattered, unorganized, and often unaware that decisions are taken of vital import to their standard of life."

As another step which need not wait upon any comprehensive solution to the general administered price problem, I recently introduced a bill, S. 1552, designed to stimulate competition and bring about lower prices in the ethical drug industry. From our hearings it has become obvious that by any standard drug prices are excessive and in some cases outrageous, that this is made possible by a tight control of the market by a few big drug companies, and that this tight control in turn stems from three factors: patent monopolies; enormous advertising and promotional campaigns directed to the doctor which the small drug manufacturer cannot possibly match; and the successful efforts of the large drug companies in persuading physicians to prescribe by trade-name rather than by generic name. The bill is directed at each of these sources of market power.

Among its major provisions the bill would require compulsory licensing—after three years—under patents for drug products; provide that the Food and Drug Administration shall pass on the efficacy as well as the safety of drugs; see to it that physicians are provided with clearer, better, and additional information on the bad as well as the good features of drugs; require fuller and more comprehensive inspection of drug manufacturing plants and their licensing by the FDA, thereby giving to physicians greater confidence in prescribing on the basis of generic rather than trade names; and grant to the FDA authority to determine the generic names for drugs, which now are frequently so long, complex, and unpronounceable that they cannot possibly be remembered or used by physicians.

While the drafting of effective legislation on new and complex problems is itself an accomplishment, it is true that neither the consumer bill nor the drug bill has yet become the law of the land. Nor are they likely to become so unless they receive strong public support. Without such support the usual fate of legislation in the public interest, particularly if opposed by powerful groups, is permanent interment in the standing committee to which it is referred.

A particular source of annoyance to me and to other members of Congress is the citizen who consistently deplores the lack of essential legislation but does nothing to communicate his own views to his elected Senators and Representative. The importance of even a small volume of mail from the grass roots is confirmed by the lengths to which large organizations will go to evoke a "spontaneous" flow of mail from "the folks back home."

In addition to these measures which are definitely within the area of the possible, the hearings by the Subcommittee have provided the bases for important additions to the arsenal of anti-trust weapons. Penalties for violation of the statutes have been increased, while orders issued by the Federal Trade Commission under the Clayton Act now become final unless appealed—a significant technical change which the FTC had been urging upon Congress for many years.

In recent years the argument has been made with increasing frequency that the hearings of Congressional committees should be restricted solely to the consideration of legislation. Because of the flagrant abuses of some hearings, such as those of the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, this argument has found favor with many individuals of liberal persuasion who formerly would have opposed any restriction on the rights of Congressional committees to get at the facts. Yet, throughout our history most reforms have been preceded by Congressional investigations which were *not* directed toward any specific piece of legislation for the simple reason that no meaningful bill can even be drafted until the facts of the matter are known and understood.

Each of the investigations made by the Subcommittee on Anti-trust and Monopoly *has* been conducted for legislative purposes. Its inquiries have been focused principally on the questions of whether a need for new legislation exists and, if so, what form it should take. But even if they had not been directed to a legislative purpose, these investigations would still have been appropriate as part of what Woodrow Wilson called the "informing function." Indeed, in his celebrated treatise on Congressional government, President Wilson went so far as to say that "The informing function of Congress should be preferred even to its legislative function." With the emergence of big business, big labor, and big government as the central forces in our society, and with the pressures for greater secrecy and non-disclosure coming from everywhere, the need for the "informing function" today is far greater than in the simpler days of Woodrow Wilson.

As a by-product of its legislative work our Subcommittee has carried out this "informing function" which, it appears, has not been without certain beneficial results. A specific example is the failure of the steel com-

THE FOUND GENERATION
by MILTON MAYER

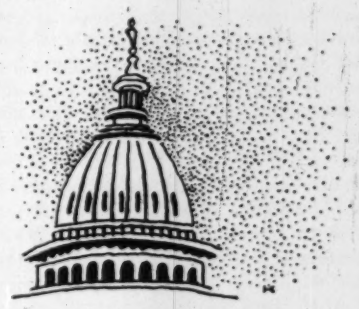
single copy	10 cents
three copies	25 cents
twenty copies	$1

Reprint Department
The Progressive
Madison, Wisconsin

panies to raise their prices after the settlement of the steel strike of 1959. Following the strike, conditions were propitious for a price increase. Wage rates had been increased as part of the settlement with the union. Predictions of demand for steel were optimistic. Some of the metal-using companies were looking forward to a price increase as "a good peg on which to hang higher price tags that would recoup even more than the additional steel costs." In each of the previous four years an increase in wage rates had been followed by an increase in price—$4.50 per ton in 1958, $6 in 1957, $8.50 in 1956, and $7.35 in 1955. The 1957 increase, alone, was shown to have cost direct steel buyers $500,000,000 a year, and, because of the pyramiding effect, the cost to the ultimate consumer was several times this amount.

The Subcommittee made it clear that if the price of steel were increased, it would hold public hearings in which steel officials would be asked to compare the price increase with the cost of the wage increase and to explain the need for the price rise in view of their remarkable profit showings. Trade sources suggest that this was a factor in the decision of the steel companies not to raise prices, although there is no way of precisely determining its importance. To assume all of the credit for this new-found rectitude on the part of the steel companies would be presumptuous since other factors were at work, not the least of which was an approaching national election. At the same time, to ignore completely the Subcommittee's role would be to distort reality.

But perhaps an even clearer case in point is provided by the Subcommittee's inquiry into the drug industry, the indirect consequences of which are referred to in the trade press as "fallout effects." For one thing, there has been a number of price reductions which the trade has attributed in considerable part to the Subcommittee's investigation. In actual dollars and cents the savings to consumers have not been inconsiderable. Just one month prior to the Subcommittee's hearings on antibiotics in September, 1960, the price of the largest-selling broad-spectrum antibiotic, tetracycline, was reduced fifteen per cent, the first price reduction since the product was introduced in 1954. Savings to consumers



total more than $50,000,000 a year. Immediately prior to the Subcommittee's first drug hearings in December, 1959, the price of the largest-selling oral anti-diabetic drug was reduced ten per cent—an annual saving to consumers of $2,500,000. During the course of the hearings, price reductions were made on still other drug products. (The Subcommittee's total annual appropriation is only $450,000, or less than one per cent of the savings on antibiotics alone.)

Savings have also been effected through the broader use of generic name prescribing, interest in which has been stimulated by our disclosures that non-patented drugs marketed under their generic names are usually available from smaller drug manufacturers at prices far below those charged by the large companies for their trade-name products. A typical case is the arthritic drug, prednisone, which under the trade-name Meticorten is sold to the consumer for nearly thirty cents a pill. Under its generic name the product can be purchased currently from drug stores in Washington, D.C., for less than four cents a pill.

The growing interest in the subject is evident from the fact that the American Medical Association at its meeting in Washington in November, 1960, recommended the use of generic name prescribing for welfare patients as a means of keeping down drug costs. In August, 1960, the American Hospital Association's House of Delegates strongly urged hospitals to adopt "formularies" which employ generic names as a means of cutting down expenses. By stressing the use of generic names in prescribing for welfare patients, the State Welfare Department of Connecticut claimed savings of $250,000 for the first half of 1960. In mid-1960 the State Welfare Department of New York adopted a new policy requiring doctors treating welfare patients to use generic names for seventeen commonly-used drugs. The state of New Jersey in December, 1960, decided to purchase drugs for state institutions on the basis of generic names.

The growing acceptance of generic name-prescribing for welfare patients led Senator Philip Hart of Michigan to raise a logical question. If drugs purchased under generic names are of adequate quality for welfare patients, asked Hart, why should they not be equally acceptable for the general public, and if they are not of adequate quality for the general public, why should they be prescribed for welfare patients?

In addition to the savings resulting from lower prices and broader use of generic names, the drug investigation has had a number of other effects, not the least of which was the prompt dismissal of Dr. Henry C. Welch, formerly director of the Antibiotics Division of the Food and Drug Administration. Dr. Welch was dismissed upon our revelation that he had received more than $280,000 from antibiotic producers; the money was principally in the form of payments for reprints of articles appearing in medical journals edited by Dr. Welch.

Throughout our hearings the Food and Drug Administration was the subject of severe criticisms for its failure to require adequate clinical testing of new drugs prior to clearance for marketing; for its failure to act when new evidence revealed significant undesirable side effects of drugs previously cleared; for inadequate policing of promotional material of drug companies which fell within the agency's power over "labeling"; and for its approval of certain drug combinations which are worthless and in some cases dangerous to public health.

Recently the FDA has taken a number of positive steps to meet

these criticisms. It has issued new regulations providing for full disclosure of all information—good and bad—in promotional material. It has inaugurated a plan of action with the American Hospital Association, the American Medical Association, and others to secure reports of adverse reactions to drugs. It has stiffened its requirements for adequate data in toxicity studies. It has taken a number of drugs with dangerous toxic effects off the market. And on others, such as chloromycetin, it has strengthened the warning language required to appear on labels and in advertisements.

Still another type of indirect result of the Subcommittee's work has been the filing of anti-trust cases. On the basis of material unearthed by the Subcommittee, new actions have been filed in the automobile, bread, and drug industries. But it is in electric machinery that this form of "fallout effect" has been of greatest importance. In September, 1959, the Subcommittee held hearings on identical bids on purchases of electrical equipment by the Tennessee Valley Authority and five municipal distributors of electrical power. Subsequent to the announcement of those hearings the Department of Justice gave notice that it was beginning a grand jury investigation in Philadelphia of identical bidding in the electrical equipment industry. Daily transcripts of the Subcommittee's hearings, which showed a consistent pattern of identical bidding on electrical equipment, were made available to the Department of Justice in its investigation. These hearings resulted in a printed record of more than 1,200 pages.

The Justice Department proceedings resulted in the filing of some twenty criminal cases in which twenty-nine corporations and forty-four individuals were charged with conspiracy to fix prices on electrical equipment through identical bids to governmental agencies. Rotation bidding, known as "phases of the moon" in one of the more colorful Department of Justice proceedings, is clearly shown in the documentation of the Subcommittee's hearings.

The results consisted not only of jail sentences and fines for leading company officials but of important savings to buyers as well. In just two categories of products involved in the cases, transformers and switchgear, manufacturers' shipments in 1958 were valued at $1.6 billion. Press accounts of the cases report that prices for many of the items involved in the conspiracy have been decreased by twenty to thirty per cent since the indictments were returned. If these reductions were to apply to only half the volume of sales in these two industrial groups, the annual savings to industry, public utilities, and governmental agencies would amount to some $200 million. The bid on a single TVA generator was reported by the Knoxville *News Sentinel* in late 1960 to have been reduced by more than five million below a 1959 bid. Recovery by private and governmental purchasers for past overcharges could run well in excess of a year's savings, since the conspiracy ran from 1951 to 1960.

Important as these indirect effects may be, the hard fact remains that the question of what to do about the problem of administered prices remains very much with us. That it is a problem is recognized by members of both parties. Earlier I referred to the inevitable time lag between the instigation of a reform and its final adoption. But recognition of this social phenomenon should not be interpreted as justifying a passive acceptance of things as they are.

For reasons which I outlined in an article in *The Progressive* a year and a half ago, and which appear to have been well borne out by the subsequent course of events, there is grave under-utilization of our industrial capacity and our manpower. We are losing, and in some cases have already lost, our foreign markets for certain metal and metal-product industries. A principal cause of both the underconsumption in our domestic economy and the loss of foreign markets has been the upward "stair-step" movement of prices in the administered-price industries. We may not solve the problem tomorrow, but we postpone the day of reckoning at our own peril.

The Gentle Knight of American Liberalism

by Norman L. Zucker

THIS MONTH marks the centennial of the birth of a folkhero of American political history, George William Norris of Nebraska. For nearly four decades the phrase "Norris of Nebraska" symbolized political independence, integrity, and liberalism. Norris was the only Congressman to serve continuously from the Republican Theodore Roosevelt's Square Deal to the Democratic Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal.

George W. Norris began his legislative career in 1903 as a Republican in the House of Representatives and concluded it in 1942 when he was defeated for re-election to the Senate as an Independent. During this period, for five terms as a Representative and for an equal number of terms as Senator, Norris violated every rule of partisan politics. Although nominally a Republican, he defied Republican Speaker of the House Joseph G. Cannon on the issue of party regularity; he engaged in an Insurgent controversy with President William Howard Taft; he joined Bull Mooser Theodore Roosevelt in his 1912 battle at Armageddon; he supported President Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom reforms; he constantly opposed the business philosophy of the Republican administrations of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover; and he ulti-

mately emerged during President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal as the Grand Old Man of Progessivism.

The Nebraskan, however, is important for his legislative legacy rather than for his political aberrations—a legacy which must be considered within the context of the Twentieth Century progressive reform impulse of American politics. Norris substantially changed the rules of the House of Representatives, sponsored measures of lasting importance for agriculture and labor, fathered legislation which created the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution, and was primarily responsible for the establishment in Nebraska of the only unicameral legislature in the United States.

George W. Norris, like so many other Americans, rose to prominence from humble beginnings. He was born shortly after the start of the Civil War on July 11, 1861, and grew to maturity in the midst of a rapidly changing and increasingly complex society. As a child he sensed the wounds and doubts of the Civil War and as an adolescent and young man he witnessed the closing of the frontier and the emergence of unrestrained exploitation.

When Norris first arrived in Washington in 1903 to take his seat in the Fifty-eighth Congress, the intellectual climate was astir with the disclosures of an increasingly militant muckraking. The major goals of muckraking—honesty in government, the democratization of Congress, the restriction of big business, and the conservation of natural resources—appealed strongly to the Nebraskan. By the time of the panic of 1907, Norris, with his Midwestern agricultural sentiments, had developed a strong distaste for the conservative Eastern wing of the Republican Party. In 1909, he was instrumental in defeating Speaker Cannon in his attempt to control the House committee which was to investigate the Ballinger-Pinchot public land fraud controversy. And a year later he spearheaded the Insurgent-Democratic coalition which destroyed the Speaker's arbitrary power to appoint the members of the important Rules Committee. Norris, no longer an obscure Congressman, was now identified with the rising Insurgent spirit within the Republican Party.

This liberal tendency within Republican ranks received formal recognition with the creation of the National Progressive Republican League in 1911. Norris was a vice-president of this group, which was predominantly agrarian in membership but included many important urban Progressives. The League actively opposed Republican President Taft and ultimately supported Theodore Roosevelt and the newly formed Bull Moose Party.

By 1912 Progessivism, now the dominant political force, was being expressed in the philosophies of Roosevelt's New Nationalism and Wilson's New Freedom. Although both the New Nationalism and the New Freedom were devoted to the cause of social justice, their methods and philosophies differed. The New Nationalism accepted inequality and bigness as natural consequences of an expanding industrialism, but wanted to subject the trusts and leviathan corporations to public control for democratic ends. The New Freedom, in contrast, wanted to destroy monopoly and industrial gigantism so as to restore an economic order based on individual competition. Norris' intellectual commitment to the New Nationalism was no greater than his commitment to the New Freedom; he accepted, in its essentials, the ideology of the agrarian radicals of the 1890's, the Populists.

Like the Populists, Norris accepted the principles of an agrarian, equalitarian democracy and assumed that the enemies of this society were the giant trusts, the railroads, the middlemen, and the Wall Street financiers. However, while Norris, during his early years in Congress, did accept some of the sour aspects of Populism such as imperialism, xenophobism, and isolationism, he did not go along with the Populists on monetary theories, narrow class divisions, nativism, and racism. In order to destroy the oppressors of the people it was necessary, in his judgment, to turn to the government to bring about a redress of grievances. But the agencies of government were controlled by the plutocrats and their lackeys, the political bosses. Therefore, to achieve corrective legislation the government must be returned to the people.

Norris was able to accept some of the rationale of both Roosevelt and Wilson in that a great deal of Progressive political effort was directed toward enacting proposals the Populists had outlined earlier. The only intellectual position with which he had no sympathy during the 1912 campaign was Eugene V. Debs' espousal of the Socialist platform's fundamental premise that "the capitalist system has outgrown its historic function, and has become utterly incapable of meeting the problems . . . confronting society." Norris could not then, and never did, embrace socialism; it was too extreme a departure from his traditional values which exalted individualism and self-reliance. He never thought in terms of fundamental socialistic dogma such as the nationalization of all the means of production; and he certainly opposed collectivization of land, dictatorship of the proletariat, and the achievement of a classless society.

While Roosevelt and Wilson became celebrated respectively for their New Nationalism and New Freedom, both programs of an urban, Eastern character, Norris, and to some extent, Robert M. LaFollette, Sr., followed an agrarian Midwestern philosophy which the Wisconsin Progressive Charles McCarthy called the New Individualism. The New Individualism was an attempt to evolve a democratic capitalistic society free from the evils of ruthless individualism and free from the regimentation of socialism and communism. It was a middle path between the two extremes: accepting some government ownership in order to gain its ends, which were the preservation of the essentials of private ownership and private enterprise.

By 1924 both Norris and LaFollette had become nationally known for their advocacy of certain types of

NORMAN L. ZUCKER, assistant professor of political science at Northeastern University, is currently completing a book on George W. Norris and American Progressivism.

government ownership. They wanted state ownership and operation of the nation's hydroelectric and transportation systems. Water power, a natural resource, belonged to all the people; and railroads possessed a unique obligation to the health, safety, and comfort of the community. But government ownership was to be employed only in selected quasi-public areas; and unlike the socialists, the LaFollette-Norris definition of a quasi-public activity was narrow. Government ownership, they believed, was the ultimate alternative to be used only if regulation failed. Effective regulation, however, was impossible as long as big business controlled both major political parties. The remedy was not socialism but a return of the organs of capitalistic government to the people. LaFollette's 1924 candidacy under the auspices of the Conference for Progressive Political Action was an attempt to organize a third party in the interests of the common man.

The LaFollette Platform of 1924 was reminiscent of the 1912 Bull Moose crusade. It too proposed a "Covenant with the People" and postulated the great issue before the American people as "the control of government and industry by private monopoly." It was an attempt to destroy the economic and political power of monopoly, which had come between the people and their government. This 1924 conception of Progressivism was significant in a number of respects; not only did it represent a throwback to preceding dissident movements but it also embodied a program for the present and a plan for the future. It called for public development of a national water power system, conservation of natural resources, a progressive tax policy, a non-partisan judiciary, legislative aid to the farmer and the laborer, ratification of the Child Labor Amendment, and the creation of a St. Lawrence Seaway. Basically it meant that the rule of the majority should be expressed by a stronger government committed to a democratic vision of a broad social and economic program. LaFollette's appeal, although regional, recognized the need for a balanced development of both agriculture and labor. It was, in this respect, a decided advance over raw agrarian class-conscious Populism, and a significant forerunner of the New Deal.

The attack by Norris and other Progressives was not against the essentials of capitalism but rather against its operation. They did not want to abolish capitalism, only control its abuses. It was the abuses of tariffs and railroad rates which oppressed the farmer, and the injunctions, court decisions, and tax policy which oppressed the laborer that the Norris-LaFollette Progressives wanted to eliminate. To this end the New Individualism accepted public ownership and management in the area of natural monopolies and in fields where monopolies might exist to the public detriment; it also advocated regulation by commission and rigid taxing policies.

The drift of Midwestern Progressive thought as embodied in the Norris-LaFollette New Individualism, although it exalted the traditional Jeffersonian-Jacksonian beliefs in the virtues of frontier equality, individualism, and the common man, nonetheless departed from the Jeffersonian concept of limited government. The ends remained much the same, but the methods changed as the frontier faded. Because they feared concentration and control, and its concomitant, unregulated industrial bigness, Norris and others like him abandoned limited government for positive government. Confronted with the problem of reconciling the old Eighteenth Century ideal of untrammeled individualism with Twentieth Century needs of an urban industrial society, the New Individualists retained some of the intellectual shibboleths of Jefferson and Jackson and grafted upon them the concept of a positive state responsive to the needs of a broadly based electorate. Although Norris was forced to shift from pure individualism toward social control, this use of government control did not imply socialism. Collectivistic restriction on *laissez-faire*, as proposed by Senator Norris, was a device to preserve capitalism itself.

The power of the state was to be used both negatively and positively. The negative use of government machinery implied anti-trust laws to control corporate concentration, the supervision of transportation facilities, a tax policy which emphasized high inheritance and corporation taxes, banking and insurance laws, public service and utility commissions, and other regulatory measures. The positive use of government machinery implied the enactment of social-justice legislation such as workmen's compensation and employers' liability laws, industrial safety standards, wage and hour laws, old age pensions, and other legislation intended to ameliorate the onerous working conditons of men, women, and children. Government was to act as the conscience of insensate industrialism.

Norris, in short, retained much of the thinking epitomized by another Nebraskan, William Jennings Bryan. Like the Great Commoner, Norris, too, had faith in the common man, a belief that political questions were essentially moral questions, an agrarian outlook, a lingering suspicion of the cities, and a vehement hatred of monopoly, Wall Street, and Big Business. To these attitudes he added some of the thinking of Roosevelt and Wilson: a realization of the problems of the city and an awareness of the needs which inspired the social-justice movement.

Despite the fact that Norris came from a rural area, many of his attitudes were far from provincial. He recognized the interdependence of the farm and the factory. A healthy agriculture in itself was insufficient. Democracy could flourish only when both agriculture and labor were content and prosperous. The ethical imperative that the farmer was entitled to a fair recompense for his toil applied equally to the laborer. The worker, like the farmer, was entitled to government protection against the harsh conditions of an unrestrained market society. The labor legislation for which he is famous, the Norris-LaGuardia Act, indicates an understanding of organized labor's critical position in an urban, industrial America.

This recognition of the complementary natures of the farm and the city enabled Norris to work with both the urban and rural aspects of the Progressive surge. Not only did he serve as a nexus between agriculture and labor, but he also was a link between the periods of reform as epitomized by the Progressive movement and the New Deal. When the

reform spirit waned and was eclipsed after World War I, the Senator nurtured it. He was instrumental in the crusading work of the People's Legislative Service, the Progressive Conferences of 1922 and 1931, and the 1932 National Progressive League for Roosevelt. He was able to work successfully with each of the different reform waves because he had a deep, emotional attachment to programs designed to protect the common man.

The Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act, the Norris-Doxey Farm Forestry Act, the Norris-Rayburn Rural Electrification Act, and the Tennessee Valley Authority Act were in keeping with the finest expressions of a combined agrarian-urban Progressive spirit. The enactment of the Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution eliminating Lame Duck sessions and the establishment of Nebraska's unicameral legislature, both primarily the result of Norris' influence, were intended to make government more effective and more responsive to the desires of the electorate.

These major legislative achievements are tangible witness to Senator Norris' importance. But the Nebraskan was also important for less tangible reasons. Through two score years on the national political scene he embodied the Progressive recognition of the ethical functions of the state. He disdained petty partisan politics and placed the commonweal above personal consideration. In following his principles he courted political suicide and national opprobrium. When Norris joined LaFollette in pleading against Wilson's policy of "armed peace" and when he voted against entrance into World War I, he demonstrated Parnassian integrity. He was always willing to champion unpopular causes and battle the omnipresent venal interests. Norris, said Franklin D. Roosevelt, was "the very perfect, gentle knight" of American liberalism.

George W. Norris made a lasting contribution to American life, not only in deed, but also in spirit. In this month in which we observe the centennial of his birth it is not amiss to suggest that the selflessness of a Norris is always needed in positions of political responsibility, especially so today when America is challenged by a New Frontier.

AFL | CIO
A HOUSE DIVIDED

by SIDNEY LENS

THE stresses and strains of a five and a half year loveless marriage are beginning to tell on labor's AFL-CIO. Friction among its top leaders is so intense that for all practical purposes the hyphenated federation is functioning as two organizations. What holds the segments together is a universal fear of a legislative offensive if labor divides, and the simple organizational reality that, at least until now, there has been no other place to go.

This latter circumstance, however, probably will be altered in July when Jimmy Hoffa's Teamsters' Union holds its first convention since the lifting of a court-imposed monitorship. There are persistent reports that Hoffa intends to modify his constitution (or work out some other formula) to provide a haven for national unions which want to secede from the AFL-CIO.

This show of strength by Hoffa is in itself a testament to AFL-CIO weakness. When the Teamsters' Union was expelled three years ago George Meany and Walter Reuther evidently felt that it would be isolated and weakened as a result. Just the opposite has happened. The Teamsters' is the only large union that gained membership in the intervening period; it has grown from 1.5 million to 1.7 million. And it not only has oral understandings with more than a dozen AFL-CIO affiliates, but strong working relations with official unions in scores of cities.

SIDNEY LENS is a Chicago labor leader who has written widely on current affairs for a number of publications, including the Yale Review, Commonweal, The Nation and The New Republic.

In many places—Chicago, for instance—it is hard to tell that the Teamsters are no longer in the federation. With Hoffa's hands now freed it is possible that the next series of internal disputes in the AFL-CIO may lead to an important exodus in his direction, and there is at least a chance that the Teamsters may soon form the central core of a new federation of labor.

Under any circumstances the mortar that holds the AFL-CIO together is seriously in need of tuckpointing. There are four major forces pulling the bricks apart. There is, first of all, stagnation—even regression—because of the failure of the merged organizations to achieve its stated purposes. Second, there are bitter internal disputes over old issues. Third, and most important, is the basic weakening of labor's principal weapon, the strike, and the inability to compensate for this through effective social action. And, finally, there is an uneasy groping by some leaders for new ways and new strategies.

In December 1955, unity was conceived as a means of organizing many millions of the unorganized, ending inter-union jurisdictional fights, and greatly enhancing labor's political power. None of these high goals has been realized.

When the CIO split from the AFL in 1935, it grew quickly from one million to four million members; by contrast, the merged organization in its first five and one-half years has declined by three million. Part of the loss resulted from the expulsion of the Teamsters and two small unions; part of it stemmed from the inability to organize enough new members to

replace those lost through technological and cyclical unemployment. All attempts to penetrate new fields—retail, office, farm, professional—and to expand in the South, have failed. The original plan to raise $7 million for an organizing campaign has been dropped, and almost half the organizing staff of AFL-CIO laid off. The merged federation's original fifteen million membership today is down to twelve million.

Jurisdictional strife, far from abating, is growing worse, in spite of a clause in the AFL-CIO constitution forbidding "raiding." This clause was strengthened in 1959 by a plan for compulsory arbitration of jurisdictional disputes. Yet rivalry has become even more bitter than when the two federations were independent and often opposed each other. Typical is the incident that occurred in Chicago recently. A former AFL Electrical union refused to work on a project which employed members of the former CIO Communication workers. Gordon M. Freeman, national president of the Electrical union, stated that this was not an isolated incident but that his organization was experiencing what he called "considerable harassment" from the former CIO brethren.

This development is part of an ever-widening, increasingly unresolved conflict. Recently the craft unions in the building trades circulated a pamphlet among factory employers urging them to farm out their repair work to construction firms—with whom the craft unionists have contracts—rather than continue using full-time maintenance men who were members of the former CIO organizations. Walter Reuther, James Carey, and David McDonald were outraged, because such work was done by CIO employes in the "good old days." Craftsmen built the new structures, but once the factory began operations, renovation of plant and equipment fell to the industrial unions. Now, Reuther felt, there was not only no live-and-let-live policy, but an invasion of thinning CIO jobs—already riddled by the reduction of more than two million jobs in manufacturing.

The Teamsters' Union, though outside AFL-CIO ranks, has intensified the problem. It has helped organize fourteen craft unions, including itself, into a bloc that seeks out maintenance work. The Teamsters' magazine in its May issue boasted that this pact had "resulted in approximately $30 million" worth of additional jobs for the craft unions.

Among themselves these fourteen organizations resolve jurisdictional strife quickly, but in relation to the industrial unions they continue a long and costly conflict. Internal conflict has thus been institutionalized. Where yesterday it was on a much looser basis and international unions of rival organizations sometimes were able to resolve their differences, today each incident is merely part of a bigger war between aggregates of unions.

The lukewarm feelings between the old AFL and the old CIO are manifest everywhere. During the lettuce strike in California's Imperial Valley early this year the united federation failed to mobilize genuine support for the strikers because their jurisdiction was being contested between the former AFL Meat Cutters and CIO Packinghouse Workers who had organized the walkout. The strike was defeated.

There is another dispute simmering between the former CIO Transport Workers, headed by a colorful Mike Quill, and the Airline Pilots. Quill has offered shelter to the airline stewardesses, who once had a tenuous affiliation with the Pilots' union. George Meany and his AFL friends insist that the airline girls must belong to the Pilots' union, a former AFL organization. Quill militantly argues that this is his jurisdiction, granted him by the CIO years ago. He points to the fact that not only does he have airline maintenance workers in his ranks but the stewardesses and stewards of Pan American Airways. Should the AFL-CIO rule against him he will doubtless disregard the edict, and there is a possibility that he will simply remove his union from the merged organization.

So bitter are the feelings between the two "united" segments of labor that Reuther felt constrained in April to call together what amounted to a private caucus. Sixty leaders of thirty-five industrial unions (including, surprisingly, Al Hayes, president of the former AFL Machinists union) met in New York to work out strategy. A fifteen-man committee selected by this caucus later met with Meany, and although an official communique played down their differences, the AFL-CIO president in an interview with the New York *Times* referred to one of Reuther's statements as an "absolute lie." The washing of labor's linen in public is strong evidence of even more heated conflicts in private.

Both sides now seem intent on going their own ways, despite their formal unity. It is well known, for instance, that Meany was less than lukewarm over the appointment of former CIO attorney Arthur J. Goldberg as Secretary of Labor. But the CIO forces had the inside track with President Kennedy. When the industrial union department held a legislative conference in March, Meany failed to appear, even though he had been listed as a speaker for many weeks. Before a House labor subcommittee in April, the craft unionists lobbied for a change in the Taft-Hartley Act which would allow them to picket multi-employer construction sites—now considered a secondary boycott. The industrial unionists then notified the Building Trades' organizations that they would not support this proposal any more unless it were coupled with provisions that lightened the secondary boycott load for them as well. They wanted for their unions the right to picket employers that used subcontractors and outside labor in industrial plants. Despite a number of meetings to find a common ground, the effort failed.

Up and down the line the rift continues to widen. Meany is cool to the demand of venerable Philip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters for a code of fair racial practices; Reuther is much more sympathetic, even though Randolph represents a former AFL union. Meany is hostile to Representative Adam Clayton Powell, chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor; Reuther has drawn close to him. In the realm of foreign affairs Reuther has always been bitter over Meany's reliance on Jay Lovestone, the former Communist leader, and Irving Brown,

AFL's emissary in Europe. He resents their peculiar brand of anti-Communism and is himself more closely allied to the policies of Americans for Democratic Action and the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. Meany is for more and more arms and a foreign policy much further to the right.

Privately the CIO men rankle over the inconsistency of the Meany group on the matter of "corruption." The Teamsters' Union, largest AFL-CIO affiliate by far, was expelled three and a half years ago for unsavory practices. Meany argued at that time that even though Hoffa and Dave Beck had not been convicted by any court, the revelations of the McClellan Committee were sufficient to indicate that they were corrupt. On the other hand, when Maurice Hutcheson, president of the large Carpenters' union, was convicted by Indiana courts a year ago for irregularities relating to certain land deals in that state, Meany refused to take "hurried" action. Part of the change, it is true, is because the Teamsters were expelled when the AFL-CIO was still riding the crest of unity enthusiasm. By 1960 enthusiasm had waned and action against Hutcheson would have consolidated former AFL unions, already restless, for a possible break. Yet the industrial unionists, whose moral tone is generally higher than that of its business unionist rivals, could hardly be content with this double standard.

Such are the overt disagreements in the house of labor. Behind them, however, lurk basic problems that far transcend the disputes among personalities. Put simply, the true crisis of the labor movement stems from two major developments:

¶ The decline of the strike weapon as an effective means of gaining labor's objectives.

¶ The inability of the movement to continue gaining social objectives through economic bargaining.

Labor's legions are divided into two groups: those with *primary* economic power and those with *secondary* power. Factory workers, miners, truck drivers, and building trades' workers have primary power. When they walk off the job operations usually stop. There is no quick replacement, and the supervisory staff cannot take over their functions. A plant of 5,000 workers, for instance, may have 100 to 300 supervisors; this is hardly adequate to continue production. Unless there is a serious "back-to-work" movement, the strikers can win at least a partial victory.

Those unionists with secondary power usually cannot halt operations by their own efforts. They depend on help from fellow-unionists. Agricultural laborers or retail clerks, for example, can easily be replaced by non-strikers. There are only a few in each establishment and almost all are unskilled. Unless the truck drivers refuse to haul produce in and out, or the whole labor movement puts up effective picket lines to prevent entry by strike-breakers, the efforts of these workers are usually futile. That is why there has been so little progress in recent years in such fields.

The tragedy today is that while there is no upswing in power for this latter group, the primary power of the former is being whittled away. Take the factory with 5,000 workers. When the plant becomes automated, the number of employes drops to 1,000 or 2,000. The proportion of engineers, technicians, and supervisors is much greater than in a non-automated plant. Furthermore, in a pinch, the machinery can operate almost on its own for fairly long periods. Repairs, maintenance, and improvement can be temporarily postponed. This is exactly what happened when Southern telephone workers struck a few years ago. With telephones automated, management could continue operations with only its skeleton supervisory staff. The strikers took a licking.

All of the mass production unions today face a similar prospect. Even more threatening is the relative overcapacity of our major industries. Steel last year operated at only a little more than half of its capacity. Yet it produced enough metal to satisfy the total demand of the economy. Prior to the next union negotiations in 1962 the industry can work one year at full capacity and warehouse enough steel to provide for perhaps twenty-two or twenty-four months of demand. Thus the union, if it fails to reach an agreement, would face the prospect of striking eight, ten, or twelve months before the corporations even began to be hurt. The same may be said of the auto and many other large industries. Auto plants today could easily turn out ten million cars in a year, but they are working at the rate of only 5.5 million, or fewer. The stockpile of unsold autos, deliberately increased before negotiations, is a warning to the auto unionists that they face a long siege on the picket line.

When you add to this the fact that many industries now have "strike insurance," under which a group of employers agrees to pay the losses for a struck fellow-employer, and that the major industries administer prices so that they can make a profit under almost all circumstances, you gain an appreciation of the true decline of the strike weapon as a means of gaining labor's objectives.

Nor is this all. Under the guiding hand of Walter Reuther, American unions have perfected a novel technique. They have gained social objectives at the collective bargaining table rather than through political action. Thus Reuther was able to protect his union members from some of the evils of inflation by winning a cost-of-living escalator clause in his contracts: whenever prices go up, the auto workers get a raise. He was able to protect them more adequately from sickness by his health insurance plans; from the insecurity of old age by his supplemental pensions; and from the insecurity of unemployment by supplemental unemployment pay. In Britain or Germany the unions would achieve such goals through legislation introduced by their allies in parliament. But in the United States, a politically weaker labor movement has had to improvise at the bargaining table.

The unfortunate aspect of this strategy, however, is that as the strike weapon declines in effectiveness, it becomes increasingly difficult not

only to win wage demands but social demands as well. Today the movement is faced with its greatest postwar crisis. Unemployment is at its postwar peak and will remain at five or six per cent even when the economy levels out. The auto and steel unions have lost 200,000 to 300,000 members each, and most of these jobs are gone forever. There may be an increase in service jobs, but manufacturing jobs have declined.

The traditional union solution to this problem would be to lobby for a shorter work week. A reduction to thirty-six hours, with forty hours pay, for instance, would absorb the jobless. But President Kennedy is opposed to this solution. And the UAW, which begins new negotiations this summer, is in the least favorable situation of the postwar period to win this demand through collective bargaining. It has been too weakened by membership losses and the normal demoralization that follows a bout of severe unemployment.

A union in Ohio recently circulated a questionnaire asking its 4,000 members what they wanted in their new contract. Wage increases were so far down the list they were almost overlooked. What the members sought were guarantees against automation, more medical insurance, a shorter work week, and the like. Social demands are increasingly at the forefront of union objectives.

This is the measure of labor's frustration. Its strike weapon is blunted, and its political power has not grown appreciably, despite the Kennedy victory. Its ability to achieve both economic and social goals is seriously curtailed.

The "tough plumber," George Meany, who was supposed to hold the AFL-CIO together has been inadequate for the task. It is not that he lacks the powers of leadership or conciliation—he has both—but he has failed to formulate the new strategies needed to achieve a new set of goals—to get labor "moving again." The centrifugal forces within the house of labor stem mostly from this circumstance. The official leadership may be content to continue along old lines, but there is an uneasy feeling in the ranks. Some unionists are responding to this malaise, at least in part, thus driving deeper wedges in leadership ranks. Walter Reuther has taken a decided turn to the left. At his recent union conference he formulated a number of more drastic proposals for dealing with the unemployment problem—such as a "flexible" work week, to be reduced when joblessness goes above a certain level. In international affairs he is speaking out more forthrightly—on the general position of SANE—than in recent years.

Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the UAW and a maverick in his own right, has gone further. He has rejected the concept of military deterrence entirely and has lectured all over the country on the urgent need for peace. It was primarily on his initiative, and that of Frank Rosenblum of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, that the American Friends Service Committee was able to mobilize 275 secondary union leaders from more than fifty unions in twelve states for a recent "peace, jobs, freedom" conference.

Perhaps the most significant result of the current malaise will be a polarization towards Reuther on the one hand and Hoffa on the other. Today the two men are in stronger positions than they were five years ago. Reuther might not have merged the CIO with the AFL if it had not been for the pressures of the steel union, which threatened to secede unless such action were taken. In the intervening five years he has mended his fences to some extent with the steel organization and in addition has picked up some new allies. Most notable of them is Al Hayes, president of the 900,000-member Machinists' union, a former AFL affiliate.

Hoffa, too, has solidified alliances and cleared the decks for a new era. Contrary to McClellan Committee assertions, the moral tone of the Teamsters has clearly improved. It is far from perfect, but it is better than some AFL organizations never stigmatized by Congress. Hoffa, surrounded by a number of liberals with a socialist background, has refashioned his union into a new mold. Collective bargaining has become region-wide and is moving towards a single national contract in each field. Racketeering under these circumstances becomes more difficult.

More than any other union in the country the Teamsters give the impression of being ready to "move." After its convention there will undoubtedly be a large increase of staff and many new organizational drives. Hoffa and company are ready to challenge both Meany and Reuther in a dozen areas. And in doing so they will no doubt win many allies who look to the Teamsters for the power that can supplement their own efforts.

The house is being shaken, and there are bound to be new alignments in the labor movement. It cannot continue for long in its present impasse. Within a year it is expected that Meany will retire. If the AFL-CIO is to hang together at all it will have to be around men like Al Hayes of the Machinists or George Harrison of the Railway Clerks. They stand at mid-point with allegiances on both sides of the AFL-CIO fence. But the centers of power will still revolve around the dynamic redhead of the auto union, Walter Reuther, and the equally dynamic Jimmy Hoffa.

Will Hoffa become a focal point for the bread-and-butter unionists and Reuther for the socially-conscious unionists? From the kind of friends each has now, it would seem that way. But Hoffa has shown an ability to innovate. It is altogether possible that both the Hoffa and Reuther wings will be competing for the allegiance of American workers in new and, as yet, undefined approaches.

Perhaps such competition is the only way the present stagnation can be arrested.

MOVING?

Please send us your old address as well as your new one.

The Teacher's Millstone

by JUDITH H. STIEHM

THE TEACHER traditionally has given both the social status and the material reward of his occupation a rating of "U"—unsatisfactory. Yet there has been remarkable improvement in both over the centuries. Teachers of classical Greek and Roman times were frequently slaves. During the Middle Ages pedagogues graduated to the rank of lower clerics. In modern times the teacher has finally achieved middle-class social rank with a lower middle-class wage. The two principal aspirations of today's teacher seems to be recognition of teaching as a "profession," and improved salary schedules. Ironically, the aspiration toward the first commendable goal seems to inhibit attainment of the latter. While status as a professional is clearly a desirable symbol, it has become, clearly, a new instrument of control which is used to check salary increases by denying to teachers their only instruments of power: teacher organization and the strike. To compound the irony, teachers cannot ever hope, by definition, to qualify as professionals.

A fair though admittedly conservative definition of a profession might be: "An occupation requiring advanced and/or specialized training in which proficiency is evaluated by other members of the given occupation and salary is commensurate with excellence of performance." Primary or secondary school teaching fulfills none of these requirements.

It is true that a teacher's training is advanced over that of the population as a whole. However, the average education is rapidly increasing in length, and, more important, a teacher's period of study is still three or four years shorter than that of the recognized professions of law, medicine, dentistry, or university teaching:

Further, a teacher's training is not sufficiently specialized to qualify him as a "professional." A secondary teacher ordinarily has only eighteen credits in the field of education. Half of these credits are usually in practice teaching or on-the-job training. Three credits are essentially liberal arts courses concerning the history, philosophy, or psychology of education. This leaves six credits at the most relating to educational methods. Even in these courses the student does not so much concentrate on a body of specialized and substantiated knowledge but experiments with devices and techniques gleaned from the experience of others. Thus, while an engineer, scientist, or dietician may study no longer than a teacher, he may be regarded as a professional because virtually his entire course of study is devoted to specialized knowledge. Indeed, most engineers escape their technical courses only long enough to take freshman English, American history, and perhaps ROTC.

The most important factor in disproving any claim to professionalism by a secondary or primary school teacher is that the ultimate evaluation of a teacher's work is not made by an association of classroom teachers, but by the public opinion of the particular community he serves.

There is no concept of academic freedom accorded the teacher such as is fairly well established for the college instructor. It is true that there are daily reprisals against college professors who have too audibly supported miscegenation, socialism, free love, Krebiozen, or integration. Still, the right to intellectual error is generally accorded an instructor, and reprisals do not often result in blacklisting of the "trouble-maker." Sometimes a transgressor stays on in his own institution even though he does not receive promotion or merit increases; in the most extreme cases, he resorts to institution hopping. The point is, institution hopping is possible. Some college is always ready to welcome to its faculty a martyr in the cause of academic freedom (if only to atone for the professor fired last year for refusing to take a loyalty oath).

Occasionally a teacher will lay claim to the rights of academic freedom. One who does and retains his job is a person whose own values coincide with those of the community, and whose outspoken opinions are directed against, for example, "free thinkers" like James Conant, who is interested in changing the school system. Most teachers, however, do not claim the prerogatives of intellectual freedom. It is significant that there is no record of a teacher being the complainant in a court case regarding such problems as Bible reading and prayer in a public school's daily schedule. Such objections have always been made by parents or lay people in the community.

Generally teachers regard themselves as servants of the community, as transmitters of mores, customs, prejudices, and previously established knowledge. They recognize that they are not truth-seekers but propagandists for Christian-Judaic religious values, for patriotism (right or wrong), and governmental institutions. The doctrine can be stated in a number of ways: "An educational objective must be approved by society," "Society decides what should be taught;" or, "Our goal is to develop

JUDITH H. STIEHM is a former teacher in a suburban school near Philadelphia, and she has worked for the Institute of International Education.

wholesome personalities and participating citizens."

The theme is clear. The teacher is to impart what the community wants imparted. Now this is not necessarily base. The teacher is dealing with immature minds. He is working with minors whose behavior and thoughts are still subject to parental control and for whose behavior the parents must still accept responsibility. It is natural that parents expect the public schools to reinforce these values taught at home. This is probably the way things must be done. But it should be recognized and emphasized that the teacher is not acting upon superior knowledge or upon his own responsibility. He is acting simply as a transmitter for the community.

The school board is the body directly concerned with rewarding, retaining, or releasing teachers. The board is the visible version of public opinion. It is not composed of teachers. Its members may include an occasional scholar, or a doctor, or a lawyer, or a mother, but most frequently the typical board member is a successful businessman. Only too often board members are selected and elected to keep school taxes down rather than because of superior insight into the ends of society and the educative means of achieving those ends. It is these persons, outside the teaching field, to whom the teacher is subjected for evaluation and adjudication. A professional is not subject to such a body.

Unlike the professions, the teacher's salary is usually unrelated to performance. Instead, salary schedules are mechanistically determined on the basis of the number of years spent in the classroom (both as student and as teacher). If a teacher should display superior teaching abilities, he is quickly promoted to the non-teaching role of administrator or eased out of the school.

While the aspiration to professionalism is absurd, the teacher's salary grievances are legitimate. True, most salary schedules are adequate for the bachelor, the maiden lady, and the "working-for-the-fun-of-it" wife. The salary enables them to dress with cachet, drive a three-year-old automobile, pursue a musical, artistic, or scientific hobby, and spend the summer months traveling, studying, or dawdling. However, most American adults are married, and it is still true that the male supports most families. A teacher's salary makes family support a near impossibility. Furthermore, summer is not a vacation period but a twelve week "lay-off"—a period of unemployment. The married male teacher dresses without chic, drives a ten-year-old car, reads as a hobby, and works during the summer at menial and temporary jobs to pay the interest on the mortgage.

The *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1960,* reports that the 1959 median annual salary of teachers was $4,324. This salary, of course, is not comparable to those of the professions, such as the physician's $15,000, the lawyer's $10,500, or the engineer's $8,750. Even more important, it is substantially below that of the urban worker, whose median annual income in 1958 was $5,460. According to the most recent comparative figures available (those of 1950), the income of a male teacher was identical with that of a mail carrier, and substantially below that of a business manager, salesman, typesetter, or foreman.

What is to be done? One interesting experiment a school board might make would be to grant dependency allowances to teachers similar to those granted by the armed services. This would at least give the married male teacher a standard of living comparable to that of other teachers. But to solve the basic problem, the teacher must do as all elements in society do. He must utilize his latent power. He must organize, propagandize, and threaten. Such pragmatic action is regarded, unfortunately, as extremely undignified and unprofessional.

In order to be effective, a genuine teachers' organization should be composed exclusively of classroom teachers and should issue publicity and lobby on the local level with avowed self-interest, as well as carry on programs on the state and national levels based on classroom and pupil problems and interests. There are teacher organizations, and teachers' unions, but a primary force working against them is the National Education Association (NEA) and its state and local affiliates. These educational associations forestall other forms of teacher organization by pleading for unity and by calling themselves "professional" organizations.

While membership in such organizations is large, it is not necessarily representative of classroom teacher commitment or approval, for in many school districts a contract to teach is contingent upon a pledge to join local, state, and national associations. This pledge is obtained by having each job applicant answer in writing the question: "Are you willing to support the national, state, and local education associations?" Further, the question of support and participation in such organizations is brought up in the interview. In one case I know of, a new teacher left this question unanswered because she was reluctant to join unless it became clear that her chance for a job was contingent upon it. When the question was raised in the course of the job interview, she indicated that she had deliberately left the question blank since she was unfamiliar with these groups and was not accustomed to joining things she did not whole-heartedly endorse. The interviewing principal then made it clear that teachers in the school district endorsed these organizations, that the groups were extremely active, and that, indeed, the district always had 100 per cent membership. Sensing wariness in the applicant's continued silence, the principal carefully explained that while the administration felt such membership was indicative of a teacher's ability and attitude, it was certainly not compulsory. "In fact," he said, "just two years ago one of the teachers in the district elected not to join. However, since he had been with us for a number of years, had always joined before, was badly in debt because of hospital bills, and was paying dues for his wife, also a teacher, we felt that his explanation was acceptable."

The chief flaw in professional associations is that they are composed not just of classroom teachers, but also include principals, administrators, and school superintendents whose power is disproportionate to their number, and whose foreman-like job it is to keep teachers functioning at maximum efficiency while receiving minimum benefits. These professional organizations often are used on the local level to lead teachers to believe that

they are participating in a democratic forum in much the same way that teachers lead students to believe that student councils are a democratic forum where they may obtain effective action as well as express opinion.

However, just as an efficient principal vetoes student council action he deems unsound, the efficient school superintendent does not hesitate to use his official powers to silence teachers who are too demanding and to control the functioning of the local education association. Control can often be subtly exercised simply by having a representative of the superintendent at all meetings. Sometimes it is only necessary to notify a principal that one of his staff is talking in an unseemly fashion and to note that a principal is expected to control his school. In some cases the superintendent may resort to direct individual censure, or to dropping a laboriously-fashioned committee report on salary scales in the waste basket. Occasionally he simply rewrites a report before presentation to the school board or to the public.

And why can the superintendent secure compliance with policy established by his company union? His weapon is the following formula: "I think you should understand that uncooperative behavior is unprofessional." This suffices, partly because the teacher desperately wishes to be regarded as a professional, and partly because unprofessional conduct is grounds for dismissal in any school district.

Even if teachers are well organized outside the framework of the education associations, propaganda and lobbying often prove fruitful only in a prosperous and enlightened community with low property taxes. In other districts, improvements can be won only by more forceful action. This means, of course, recourse to the threat or even the use of the strike. Since this particular instrument of power is used in foreign lands by politically fervent students and other "extremist" groups, and is used at home almost exclusively by workers who are clearly not "professional," most teachers regard it as suspiciously brutish. So, when a vacillating teacher is commanded on the early morning news broadcast by such a snorting decision-maker as Admiral Hyman Rickover to "get back to work at teaching our children and start acting like professionals," the teacher might just do it. The teacher esteems professional standing. Striking is not professional. Hence a most important instrument of power is removed from the arsenal of those teachers who succumb to this form of snob appeal.

Professionalism is even invoked to guide teacher action in relatively insignificant affairs. A typical note in the morning announcments might be: "Some of you have not yet paid Mrs. Gilbert your $2.50 for the Association dinner. Attendance might be considered a *professional* obligation!"

At election registration time mimeographed sheets may bear these tidings: "For your *professional* responsibility REGISTER and VOTE!"

"For a better *professional* group record REGISTER and VOTE! !"

An education degree candidate could do a thesis on "The Use of Professionalism in Morning Announcements for the Purpose of Genteel Coercion." "Professionalism" is used by the educational hierarchy to obtain desired behavior from teachers, and used by society generally to keep salaries low. Worse, teachers have fallen for the appeal.

I appeal to my fellow-teachers: Let us deliver ourselves from this thralldom. We are not professionals. Our training is neither advanced nor specialized. Our value is measured by public opinion, not by others in the education field. We are not paid on the basis of performance. Professionalism is a plump, juicy carrot dangled in front of our noses by our superiors and society to secure policy adherence and attendance at non-compulsory affairs. While our attention is focused on the carrot, we are being driven off the road to higher wages and improved teaching conditions.

The Progressive's Special Issue

LATIN AMERICA:

Dynamite On Our Doorstep

Free

with each new subscription at the special introductory rate

6 months for $2

Enter or renew your subscription now!

one year $5
two years $9
three years $12

new subscribers 6 months $2 plus Latin America issue free

Enclosed $..... Enter ☐ a new subscription
Renew for ☐ one year ☐ two years ☐ three years

Name.....
Address.....
City..... Zone..... State.....

The Progressive Madison, Wisconsin

THE PEOPLE'S FORUM

Alabama Arrogance

Dear Sirs:

What happened in Alabama has hurt us seriously in our international relations. It is tragic and so unnecessary.

The dominant group in Alabama seems to care more for color than they care for the survival of our nation. They have put racism before the future of our country. They do not believe in the dignity and freedom of all men; their belief is in white supremacy.

It is not ignorance, it is blind, stupid arrogance that does not look at the consequences of acts. Haters and goons are everywhere—in New York as well as in Anniston and Birmingham. But what shocks me, a Southern woman, is that the governor himself behaved irresponsibly—as if he did not care how his words or his acts affect the United States and its prestige. It is this not-caring about the fate of our country that disturbs me.

As for the group who tried to make the trip: They are human beings and Americans. What else do you need to qualify for entrance into Alabama? It is absurd for the Congressman from Alabama to speak of Americans as outsiders. Anyone can go anywhere, together. You don't have to possess a passport to enter; nor do you have to leave your code of right and wrong at the state's borders.

LILLIAN SMITH
Clayton, Georgia

Cuba Not Communist

Dear Sirs:

It is much too late to believe that any action, however outrageous, can still be taken against a nation or people by the simple technique of labeling them Communists or Communist satellites, as we have done with Cuba. Few, if any, among the peoples or leaders of the underdeveloped areas of the world are any longer impressed by this type of sloganizing propaganda. And not many among our "allies" believe it any more.

It is important to remember that Tito did not destroy Communism by his deviationist tendencies and he did not become a capitalist satellite by accepting capitalist aid. And Castro is not likely to destroy capitalism by his humanism, nor is he likely to turn over control of Cuba to any foreign country or alien ideology, whatever our official propaganda and mass "information" media may proclaim.

I was in Cuba last December and January and the Cuban government was not a Communist government then and I don't believe it is now. I know of no informed person who really believes that Castro is a Communist or is controlled by Communists. He is a dedicated Cuban nationalist and humanist. And so long as he lives and heads the Cuban government, Cuba will not become a Communist satellite; nor will it become a U.S. satellite again.

I believe and hope it is too late for Allen Dulles and his Central Intelligence Agency to repeat in Cuba the "successes" earlier of overthrowing Prime Minister Mossedegh (Iran, 1953); President Arbenz (Guatemala, 1954); Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma (Laos, 1958, and again 1960). If Mr. Dulles had succeeded—or were to succeed—it would prove a pyrrhic victory for the United States in the absolute sense of that term.

It simply is not true that Castro's Cuba constitutes a threat to western democratic institutions, or to the best interests of the United States people. It does offer a challenge to U.S. democracy to begin to function again in a true sense and an opportunity for U.S. capitalism to begin to export to the underdeveloped peoples of the world some of its boasted "affluent" society.

The Soviet bloc has learned to live with the deviationist Tito and western capitalism will have to learn soon to live with mavericks like Castro. Neither the Soviet bloc nor the U.S. bloc has either the power or wisdom to rule the world. Our choice would seem to be between cooperation and catastrophe.

HUGH B. HESTER
Brigadier General U.S. Army (Ret.)
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Silence on Depletion

Dear Sirs:

During the Presidential campaign much was said about tax reform, with specific reference to expense accounts and depletion allowances for oil and timber. We are currently hearing a lot about expense accounts. I wonder why such a thick blanket of silence has descended upon the question of depletion allowances?

C. K. STEDMAN
Enumclaw, Washington

The Military's Role

Dear Sirs:

I am in accord with most of the letter in the May issue by James E. Kline of Evanston, Illinois, but one of his points is appalling to me: "A military leader has not only the right but the duty to press his views vigorously when policy is being formulated."

This is a fundamental mistake. In our form of government, the armed services have no place in policy making. The armed services, until recently, were considered an instrument for carrying out policy, if necessary. The sooner we return to this important tradition the better.

In modern times war should not even be considered when setting policy. Many persons think war is inevitable, given human nature, but I do not agree. Organized warfare is a man-made institution just as slavery is. Most of the world which considers itself enlightened has gotten rid of slavery; with the right attitude and spirit we can get rid of war too. But never as long as we let the armed services help set our policy.

HELEN S. EATON
Duxbury, Massachusetts

Operation Lunatic

Dear Sirs:

Although we are faced with such exacting problems as racial conflict, delinquency, unemployment, lag in education, and unfavorable international relations, we are planning to spend billions on sending a man to the moon. I do not know what they are going to call this effort, but a proper name for the project would be Operation Lunatic.

JACOB J. LEIBSON
Halcott Center, New York

America's Double Standard

Dear Sirs:

The greatest danger confronting America is the double standard of morality. In the Havana Pact signed by the United States and ratified by the Senate in 1959, we agreed "to use all appropriate means to prevent any person, national or alien . . . from starting, promoting, or supporting civil strife in another contracting state." Yet for over a year we have been deliberately violating this. When Castro came to power, he even considered hiring Dean Acheson as his foreign policy adviser. When the Soviet leader, Mikoyan, was in Cuba in February of 1960, he was bitterly criticized in Cuba for the invasion of Hungary. But eighty-two per cent of Cuba's exports consists of sugar, and when the United States cut off the purchase of sugar, it forced Castro into the Russian orbit.

All informed circles state that Castro has the support of the Cuban people. Even Democratic Senator Frank Church of the Foreign Relations Committee said April 23, 1961, "It is altogether likely that Castro remains the favorite of the majority of the people of Cuba because he has undertaken many of the reforms that have been so badly needed."

The Rt. Rev. James A. Pike, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in California, has been so disillusioned by United States actions that he has declared, "We are guilty of every single thing that we profess to hate about the Communists." If one of our great

religious leaders thinks this is true, what must the Cuban people think of us?

Is it not true that we should try mediation and conciliation with Cuba instead of military force? Would we not gain more by helping the Cuban people with economic aid and a Peace Corps than in any other way?

JEROME DAVIS
Executive Director
Promoting Enduring Peace, Inc.
West Haven, Connecticut

Ferry's 'Wild' Statements

Dear Sirs:

W. H. Ferry stated in his article, "Peace Through Disarmament," in the May issue that: "wisdom, politics, and morals have all been ousted from our highest councils by science. . . . The result is a dehumanization of society and the brutalizing of us all. . . ."

Your job, it appears to me, is to present different points of view on pressing problems in an effort to reach a peaceful solution. Such wild and unprovable generalizations as Mr. Ferry's do nothing to aid American society in its struggle to harness the pursuit of scientific knowledge to moral ends. His statements appear calculated to widen the gap between scientists and non-scientists—a gap which is already too wide.

So long as the Soviet Union actively exploits the pursuit of scientific knowledge for its own imperialistic ends, Western civilization has no choice but to engage actively in research. It then becomes the job of all members of the body-politic to try to channel this knowledge into the correct paths. It will not be done, as Ferry has done, by calling scientists dirty names.

W. T. KNOX
Cranford, New Jersey

Ferry's Creative Plan

Dear Sirs:

"Peace Through Disarmament," by W. H. Ferry, in the May *Progressive* deserves the widest possible reading and consideration. It offers a way out of the impasse in which our nation finds itself. Ferry has demolished every possible contrary argument. If to others there are just grounds for opposing his position, such grounds should be presented forthwith and as forcibly as possible. And let such opposition present its own and better alternative.

In the matter of war and peace, surely this nation must have something new, original, creative, humanitarian. This, it seems to me, Ferry has presented. If there is something better, let us have it, promptly, and act. Our nation's present policy must be abandoned.

F. J. WALDROP
Weston, West Virginia

Ferry Reprinted

Dear Sirs:

Readers of *The Progressive* who were interested in W. H. Ferry's "Peace Through Disarmament," in the May issue, may be glad to know that an expanded version is available in pamphlet form under the title, "Disarm to Parley" from the American Friends Service Committee at twenty cents a copy.

MILDRED C. WHITNEY
Peace Literature Service
American Friends Service Committee
160 North Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Strikebreaking Braceros

Dear Sirs:

The editorial comment in the May issue about agricultural workers and the bracero program was much too charitable in its assumption that braceros are not currently being used as strikebreakers. The fact is that on March 17 the United Packinghouse Workers and the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee were obliged to give up a strike in the lettuce fields of California Imperial Valley which began on January 13. Eighty per cent of the lettuce crop was harvested by Mexican contract labor behind the picket lines of the two unions. As recently as early May UPWA Local 78 was obliged to give up a week long strike participated in by 200 of its members in the Salinas Valley on a 300-acre strawberry "patch" because of the failure of authorities to remove 800 braceros who continue to pick berries.

In this connection, I think *The Progressive* ought to make abundantly clear to its readers that the Mexican government is bitterly opposed to the use of its citizens by U.S. agricultural interests in the capacity of strikebreakers.

The second point I would like to make is that the *Wall Street Journal's* story on the Armour automation fund's retraining work in Oklahoma City needs more careful reading than it was apparently given. Your writer presented a far more optimistic account of this venture than is warranted by the facts. That "real estate operator" who was so joyous about his new career has yet to make his first sale.

LESLIE OREAR, Director
Publication Department
United Packinghouse Workers
Chicago, Illinois

Supports Bracero Law

Dear Sirs:

I would like to protest the inaccuracies and distortion of fact that appear in your May 1961 issue regarding the braceros and the migrant worker. If Public Law 78 is allowed to die quietly without careful planning in certain areas, the losses to labor are liable to be greater than the gains that the migrants might make.

Congress should be advised to examine this question with great care, and not with the bias evident in your editorial.

CONRAD L. DORN
Kelseyville, California

HUAC Exposed

Dear Sirs:

In "The People's Forum" (June), H. F. Kohl of Springfield, Ohio, asked ". . . how a picture [*Operation Abolition*] with sounds of the actual disorders in San Franciso could be 'scandalously inaccurate', as . . . stated in an April editorial."

On August 9, 1960, on "The Goodwin Knight Show," on Los Angeles television station KCOP-TV, Burton White, a teacher at the University of California, Berkeley, while discussing the distortions of the film *Operation Abolition* made the following statement: "I am basing my discussion on the fact that the film does have inaccuracies, does have distortions." The House Committee on Un-American Activities' chief investigator on the West Coast, William Wheeler, replied: "All right, we have admitted that. Let's go on to another subject." White questioned: "You have admitted that, Mr. Wheeler?" "Certainly," answered Wheeler.

The *Christian Century* for March 22, 1961,

Send

The Progressive's

special issue

LATIN AMERICA:

Dynamite

On Our Doorstep

to friends and associates, libraries, editors, and fellow club or union members.

Single copy	50 cents
Three copies	$1
Ten copies	$2.50
25 copies	$5

All prices include postage

☐ Send.....copies of Latin America to the address below.

☐ Send a copy to each name on the attached list.

Enclosed $.....

Name .....

Address .....

The Progressive
MADISON, WISCONSIN

with full documentation, cites six examples of film splicings and omissions and ten examples of unjustifiable sound-track manipulations. Many responsible publications, including *The Reporter* (November 24, 1960), the *Californian* (July, 1960), *The Catholic Bulletin* of St. Paul (February 24, 1961), *New University Thought* (Autumn, 1960), *Frontier* (June, 1960), and the Washington *Post* (November 26, 1960), among others, have underlined the mendacity of the film and its shameless father, Chairman Francis Walter of HUAC.

The National Council of Churches of Christ, representing forty million American Protestants, has issued a 15,000 word report telling the truth about *Operation Abolition*. The Bay Area Student Committee for the Abolition of the Un-American Activities Committee has prepared an excellent analysis of the film, "In Search of Truth," which itemizes the distortions and highlights the propaganda elements in *Operation Abolition*. SLATE has prepared a hair-raising recording, "The Sounds of Protest," cut from actual tapes taken at and during the HUAC "riots" in San Francisco during May, 1960.

H. F. Kohl, Chairman Walter, and of course, *Operation Abolition*, all would have us believe the students were Communist dupes. They claim the "riots" were started by students, including Bob Meisenbach, who was acquitted by a jury of this specific charge on May 3, 1961, J. Edgar Hoover notwithstanding, and that the San Francisco police were the victims of the students' brutality. These are more than distortions; they are plain untruths. Sheriff Matthew Carberry of the city and county of San Francisco, after the altercations were over, stated: "There was no act of physical aggression on the part of the students." Mel Wax, correspondent for the New York *Post*, said: "Never in 20 years as a reporter have I seen such [police] brutality." I do not personally *know* that the students were *not* dupes. I do know the protest against HUAC and its San Francisco hearings were endorsed and actively supported by California State Assemblymen John O'Connell and Phillip Burton, more than 700 teachers and professors from four different West Coast universities, three large labor unions, and six religious organizations including the Berkeley YWCA.

DON HARVEY
Chicago, Illinois

'Sounds of Protest'

Dear Sirs:

Milton Mayer's recent article, "The Found Generation," listed several sources of student-produced materials on the House Un-American Activities Committee and on the film *Operation Abolition*. One which was not listed but which, judging from the response of *Progressive* readers to our advertisement in the January issue, your readers have found of importance is the LP record, "The Sounds of Protest."

This record is cut from tapes of the original radio sound track of the May, 1960, HUAC demonstrations and hearings which took place in San Francisco. It is distributed by SLATE, a student organization at the University of California at Berkeley. It is available at $2 from SLATE, Box 893, Berkeley 1, California.

I suggest that a fair judgment of what took place in San Francisco, and a more complete judgment of the political capabilities of students, can be aided by hearing this record.

GERALD GRAY
Chairman
SLATE Record Committee
Berkeley, California

Ammunition against HUAC

Dear Sirs:

The acquittal of Robert Meisenbach has again focused public attention on the many questions and considerable confusion still surrounding the student "riot" during the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in San Francisco last May. The controversial film, *Operation Abolition*, based on this incident, continues to be shown throughout the country but raises more questions than it answers.

I should therefore like to call the attention of your readers to the pamphlet, *San Francisco and the House Un-American Activities Committee*, published by the Northern California Chapter of Americans for Democratic Action and prepared under the direction of Paul Seabury, chapter chairman and professor of political science at the University of California. This pamphlet, which has been widely praised for its clear and factual presentation of the events surrounding the San Francisco hearings, may be obtained from Americans for Democratic Action, 41 Sutter Street, San Francisco 4, for fifteen cents a copy.

SHELDON POLLACK
Executive Director
Americans for Democratic Action
San Francisco, California

Protest from Israel

Dear Sirs:

Several years ago, friends in the United States sent me a gift subscription to your excellent magazine which my wife and I and our Israeli friends have come to relish more and more with each new issue. Among the many articles by keen thinking and highly principled Americans we have enjoyed several excellent ones by Milton Mayer. At my first reading of "Eichmann in Israel" I was slightly incredulous. Was Mayer being serious? Perhaps there was some Mayeresque humor here that had escaped me. But, no; after carefully reading each parry and thrust between "Eichmann" (who in his schizophrenic turn is either a Nazi monster or a spokesman for non-violence) and "Israeli" (who is really Mayer's stereotyped image of the Israeli) I realized that something had gone amiss, but deliberately.

In his zeal to prove to the world the folly of resistance to evil through violent means, Mayer has added his name to the list of those responsible for using the Jews as scapegoats. He has dared to compare the violence, murder, and complete depredation of the Nazis with the "crimes" of the Jewish people—including their latest "crime" against Eichmann. This comparison, in my opinion, was such that the entire article could very easily be taken out of *The Progessive* and reprinted in any one of the many racist hate sheets being published in America.

In his dialogue, Mayer creates an amazing dichotomy; we find Eichmann at one and the same time spewing out the Nazi poison, and trying to present to the world the benefits of non-violence. On the other hand, the Israeli is presented as a dull, bloodthirsty fellow who knows nothing but blind obedience to his own "Fuehrer," Ben-Gurion.

We must not forget that there are still many nations that either encourage Nazis and racists or give them haven. Further, why assume that the justice Eichmann might receive in Sweden or Switzerland will be superior to the justice he is receiving in Israel? Is it possible that the "Jewish God of Vengeance" is so all-powerful in Israel that he will blind one and all into railroading an innocent man into assuming the guilt for the planned and deliberate murder of almost six million Jews?

Mayer, in attempting to compare the cold-blooded genocide of the Nazis with even the very worst outbursts of violence of the Jews in any period of their history (and what people are without violence?) plays right into the hands of anti-Semitism. (He realizes this and says so in his own dialogue!) In Kfar Kassim, the Israeli soldiers responsible for the unauthorized attack on Arab villagers were given prison sentences, even though this outburst of violence occurred at a time when tension between Arab and Jewish Israeli was very high. What Nazi was ever punished by the Third Reich?

Through this vicious and unjustified comparison, Mayer is doing a disservice to the whole concept of non-violence because his article will tend to enflame further prejudice and hatred against the Jews.

ANTHONY PERANIO
Faculty of Civil Engineering
Haifa, Israel

The Chinese Threat

After reading W. H. Ferry on disarmament in the May *Progressive* it struck me that a very important point was missed. Ferry barely touched on the problem of Red China. Demonstrably the Red Chinese have shown little finesse in their drive for world domination. They have shown little faith in the ultimate superiority of Communism, and have often taken a more direct approach than the Russians in attempting domination.

Perhaps the Russians would take the longer view, but, in view of past experience and the Chinese problems of population and famine, it hardly seems probable that the Red Chinese would balk because of world opinion at direct domination once the United States disarmed.

PETER A. WOLLAEGER
Pontiac, Michigan

BOOKS

Essentials of Peace

DISARMAMENT: THE CHALLENGE OF THE NINETEEN SIXTIES, by James P. Warburg. Doubleday. 288 pp. $4.50.

Reviewed by

Norman Thomas

IF I WERE ASKED what practicable political policy the Kennedy Administration might follow to achieve the peace which all rational men must desire, I would recommend Mr. Warburg's latest book and suggest to the President that its author would be the best man to help him carry it out as Secretary of State.

For many years I have been stimulated and sustained in my own thinking by Warburg's writings and by his friendship. He has emphasized in those years—as in this book—three essentials of a policy designed to avert the catastrophe of World War III. He writes:

"The abatement of tensions, the achievement of disarmament, and a determined effort to improve conditions of life—these are the three imperatives of our time. There is no priority among them. Three simultaneous parallel efforts are required."

A lack of clear, consistent, and sincere acceptance of these imperatives has characterized and still characterizes American policy. One of the values of Warburg's latest book is that he traces that policy from 1945 to 1960 and in his appendix gives the reader the text of seventeen documents, resolutions offered at the United Nations and the like, which are highly pertinent to this history.

I especially commend this treatment of the four fallacious assumptions underlying our policy.

"First: that the greatest danger to the security of the United States and the so-called free world has been and is aggressive expansionist Communism.

"The fact is that the greatest threat to the United States and to all mankind is not posed by Communism but by a world in revolution and by the likelihood—the ever-increasing likelihood—of nuclear war.

"Communist imperialism does present a lethal threat to human freedom—a threat that must ultimately be met and defeated. But nuclear war threatens the very survival of human civilization. (There can be no freedom anywhere if civilization is extinguished.)

"United States policy has reversed this basic order of priorities. It is more anti-Communist imperialism than pro-peace and anti-war.

"Second: the assumption that the Communist challenge is essentially military and can, therefore, be met by military means.

"Third: the assumption that other peoples who do not like Communism share the American view as to the best means of meeting the Communist challenge; and that they see Communism, rather than nuclear war, as the most immediate threat to their security.

"Fourth: in recent years, United States policy has been primarily designed to prevent aggression by the one hostile power that possessed nuclear weapons and delivery systems: the Soviet Union.

"The greatest danger of nuclear war does not arise out of the possibility that Soviet leadership may, through miscalculation, launch a military adventure. The greatest present danger of nuclear war arises out of the every increasing likelihood of war by accident."

This danger of war by accident or passion will of course be enormously increased as more nations acquire nuclear weapons.

The book has brief but valuable chapters dealing with the fundamental problems of abatement of tensions, the economics of disarmament, multilateral aid to disadvantaged peoples, and arms control versus disarmament. Throughout, Warburg is insistent on the importance of ending the anarchy of nations by strengthening the United Nations along lines so well developed by Messrs. Clark and Sohn in their authoritative book, *World Peace Through World Law*.

Some reviewers have accused Warburg of dealing too summarily with the much-touted books of men like Henry Kissinger and Herman Kahn, who reject disarmament dogmatically and urge instead elaborate plans of arms control. (The President's adviser on disarmament, John J. McCloy, commented to me with some amusement on the fascination some intellectuals have in playing games with soldiers—or missiles.) It is true that the author might have written on arms control in more detail, but his case is convincing and his conclusion cannot be too strongly emphasized:

"It is to be hoped that the government of the United States will soon make two major decisions:

"1. That arms control, in whatever degree, is not enough; that arms-control measures are desirable only in so far as they arrest the momentum of the arms race and prepare the way for universal disarmament under adequately enforced world law.

"2. That the acceptance of universal disarmament as a goal of United States policy involves willingness

THE REVIEWERS

NORMAN THOMAS was the Socialist candidate for President in six campaigns. CHARLES W. ANDERSON, associate professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin, specializes in Latin American history and politics. EDWARD H. BUEHRIG, a professor of government at Indiana University, wrote "Woodrow Wilson and the Balance of Power." JOSEPH P. LASH covers the United Nations for the New York Post. JACK MENDELSOHN, minister of the Arlington Street Church (Unitarian Universalist) in Boston, has traveled throughout Africa.

on the part of the United States to abide by the decisions of a supranational system of courts of equity and justice and their enforcement by supranational police power.

"If these decisions are made, a major task will be the creation of a firm foundation in public opinion."

Latin America Today

THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA, by Charles O. Porter and Robert J. Alexander. Macmillan. 208 pp. $4.50.

Reviewed by

Charles W. Anderson

THIS BOOK opens with the straightforward and optimistic announcement, "Latin America is ready for democracy." The authors attempt to demonstrate that it is no longer adequate for the United States to think of Latin American politics in terms of petty dictatorships and comic opera revolutions. The forces of democracy are on the ascendancy throughout Latin America. The United States confronts a changing Latin America. Its foreign policy toward these lands must take account of these new conditions.

The authors are men of competence in Latin American affairs. Former Representative Charles Porter of Oregon has received international attention for his work on hemispheric problems in Congress. His interest in Latin America began about four years ago when he undertook an investigation of the mysterious disappearance of his constituent, Gerald Murphy, inside the Dominican Republic. Robert J. Alexander of Rutgers is one of the most prominent authorities on Latin American economics. His work on Latin American trade unions, political parties, and Communist movements is widely known and highly respected. The result of their joint labors is a book written in a brisk and terse style, which provides new insights to the specialist and also serves as a fine introduction to Latin American politics.

The book begins with a quite conventional account of the historical development of democracy in Latin America. The distinction between the colonial political experience of North and Latin America is pointed out. The English political tradition and less restrictive economic ties between America and the mother country provided this region with a foundation for future democratic government that was absent in the southern half of the hemisphere linked to the Iberian colonial powers. In Latin America, with the achievement of independence, political control passed to a small elite, composed of the landholding oligarchy, small mercantilist classes, the army, and the Church. "In such a milieu, democracy could not flourish."

Political challenge to this oligarchy arose out of Twentieth Century economic conditions. The quest of industrial powers for the markets and raw materials of Latin America "opened up" the continent, and "quickened the way of life of the region." As the world wars curtailed the economic contact between Latin America and industrialized nations, Latin America began a process of internal industrial and commercial development. This led to the emergence of middle and urban working classes in the region.

Such factors led to the growth of strong forces favoring democratic government in Latin America. These forces are classified and discussed by the authors under the general headings of democratic political parties, trade unions, progressive middle class elements, intellectuals, and some sectors within the Roman Catholic Church. The notice taken of the Church's increasingly vital role as a champion of democracy is a major contribution of this book. However, the authors have underestimated or disregarded the important role of the junior officer cadres of Latin American armies as prime movers in establishing the conditions for political activity by other democratic forces.

The forces opposing democracy in Latin America include the old economic elite, the armed forces, ambitious politicians, and totalitarian political parties. The authors develop the interesting concept of the "Jacobin" political party—the emergence of political forces almost xenophobic in their nationalism and program of reform. Such movements would include those supporting Getulio Vargas in Brazil, Juan Peron in Argentina, and Fidel Castro in Cuba.

Certain all-permeating social conditions also hinder the growth of democracy in Latin America. Illiteracy and the persistence of the antidemocratic tradition are two. As the authors discuss the problem of Latin America's comprehension of the full implications of democracy, one comes to a greater realization of the importance of certain subtle attitudes held by leaders and citizens alike in making democracy an effective political way of life. "One of the most difficult things for Latin America to learn is that it is honestly possible to lose an election."

The bulk of the book consists of essays on "recent democratic victories" and "remaining tyrannies" in individual Latin American nations. Some of these are excellent studies. The sections on Argentina and the Dominican Republic are outstanding. This is one of the few works on Latin American politics which seems truly to comprehend the importance of recent political developments in Honduras in paving the way for more democratic government in that land. The judgment that Fidel Castro is "the man who betrayed a great revolution" seems to this reviewer to put the matter most succinctly and accurately. The commentary on the Somoza regime in Nicaragua is well balanced and quite accurate.

However, at times the authors seem to fall into the fatal trap of Latin Americanists by making oversimplified categorical distinctions between "dictators" and "democrats" without full appreciation of the complexities of individual situations. In my judgment, the authors have been too harsh on the Odria regime in Peru. While the oppressive and at times brutal policies of the regime must be admitted, many feel that Odria served to stabilize a chaotic internal situation, and perhaps established the conditions under which the current democratic achievements of Peru could be realized. Furthermore, to categorize the Castillo Armas government in Guatemala as a "brutal dictatorship" is a judgment which many authorities could not support.

The work concludes with a discussion of United States policy toward Latin America, one of the most in-

Explorations-in-depth of the worlds of *Yesterday*

LITTLE BROWN BROTHER

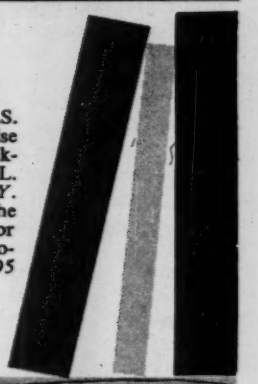
A chapter in our history that never made the history books: **Leon Wolff's** provocative account of America's turn-of-the-century flirtation with empire building – our long, bloody, almost-forgotten struggle to purchase and pacify the Philippines. Fascinating history with striking contemporary overtones. Illustrated, $4.95

THE LOST TOWNS AND ROADS OF AMERICA

Americana for Americans in this diary-guidebook of a cross-country tour that took **J. R. Humphreys** and his wife off the well-paved track of turnpikes and thruways, and showed them a timeless America of brickroads, covered bridges, and small towns whose ways have not changed since the 1800's. A memorable trip, a memorable book. Photographs, $4.95

A HISTORY OF THE COLD WAR

The first major treatment of U.S. – Soviet relations, from the false hope of Yalta, 1945 to the sinking summit of Paris, 1960. C. L. Sulzberger, writing in the *N. Y. Times Book Review*, described the book as "brilliant," and author **John Lukacs** as "penetrating, provocative, and scintillating." $3.95



today...

AS WE ARE

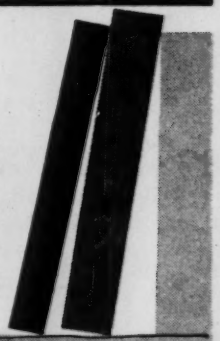
British correspondent **Henry Brandon** interviews such articulate Americans as Leonard Bernstein, Walter Reuther, Arthur Miller, James Thurber and the then Senator John F. Kennedy. His collection of conversation pieces is a "formidable and fascinating bull session on the state of United States life . . . salty food for thought" *(Newsweek)*.
Photographs, $4.50

CATHOLIC VIEWPOINT ON EDUCATION

Neil G. McCluskey, S. J., analyzes the rise of Catholic education, and its relation to American society. His outline of the Church's view on major trouble-spots – transportation, textbooks, released-time – is illuminating, reasoned, and could not be more timely. $3.50

A LIVING BILL OF RIGHTS

Integration? Loyalty oaths? Federal aid to education? Contempt of Congress? Censorship? America's most articulate jurist, **Justice William O. Douglas,** relates current controversy to traditional principle, in a brilliant, telling evaluation of the first ten amendments.
Illustrated, cloth-bound, $1.50



and Tomorrow...

PROJECT VANGUARD

Facts behind the failures, successes, and future of America's answer to Sputnik, by **Kurt R. Stehling,** former head of Vanguard's propulsion group. Candid anecdotes highlight the fantastic post-Sputnik pressure which ended in total failure; the inter-service rivalries and government-industry conflicts; and the "miracle" of the St. Patrick's Day launching in 1958. Illustrated, $4.50

A HOLE IN THE BOTTOM OF THE SEA

The director of the daring Mohole Project, **Willard Bascom,** tells the full story of the plan to drill a hole many miles and many layers beneath the ocean floor. Already making headlines, Mohole sounds like something out of Jules Verne – is actually an imaginative, dramatic attempt to solve the mystery of earth's origins.
Illustrated, $4.95

AFRICA A TO Z

The Continent of Today *and* Tomorrow, from Alexandria to Zululand, by **Robert S. Kane.** "A pioneer survey which provides a wealth of succinct information not hitherto available between the same two covers to my knowledge."—John Barkham, *Saturday Review Syndicate.* "As a guide or for reference, this is the finest one-volume compendium on the new Africa yet produced."—*Travel Magazine.* 6 new maps, 40 photos. $4.95

GOETHE'S FAUST has a perennial fascination for writers, artists and musicians; now a present-day poet, Stephen Spender, picks the new verse translation by **Walter Kaufmann** as "the best translation of 'Faust' that I have read" *(N. Y. Times Book Review)*. The new edition features the original German, and the English translation, on facing pages. $4.50

HOMER'S ODYSSEY has been newly translated by the distinguished American poet, **Robert Fitzgerald.** Horace Gregory *(N. Y. Times Book Review)* comments: "Only poets who have gifts for understanding the meaning of our classical heritage should be encouraged to translate the poetry of the ancient world. Only they can endow it with renewed life and meaning. Fitzgerald belongs to that rare company." Illus., $4.95

AT ALL BOOKSELLERS

Doubleday

teresting parts of which is a commentary on the U.S. political process and the formulation of that policy. Particularly revealing is the discussion of the armed forces as a pressure group for military aid to Latin American armies. The result of these diverse political pressures has been that U.S. policy toward Latin America has been "fitful" and "inconsistent." The authors desire that we establish more consistent long-range policy of objectives toward Latin America, to include the abandonment of our attitude of taking Latin America for granted; support for democracy rather than for dictatorship, and a program of genuine economic cooperation for Latin American development.

Although the authors have occasionally oversimplified complex political events in the interest of presenting their thesis, they emphasize many things that have needed saying concerning political change toward more democratic government in Latin America.

Wilson as Diplomat

WILSON: THE STRUGGLE FOR NEUTRALITY, 1914-1915, Vol. III, by Arthur S. Link, Princeton University Press. 736 pp. $10.

Reviewed by

Edward H. Buehrig

WOODROW WILSON'S foreign policy had bite. He sought his objectives with tenacity and decision. His tactics and timing, and the verbal power of his diplomatic notes arrested German submarine warfare, holding it at bay for nearly two and one-half years. This feat the student of history is likely to be acquainted with, but he probably does not appreciate fully the skill and brilliance with which Wilson conducted the struggle. For that matter, no historical account has succeeded as does Link's in revealing the inner workings of Wilson's diplomacy. Link achieves this not through the dramatic quality of his writing but through his exhaustive knowledge and a liberal display of the record (as voluminous a record as exists for any period of history), his astute interpretation of the evidence, and his inclusion of the agony of decision in Berlin as an integral part of the story.

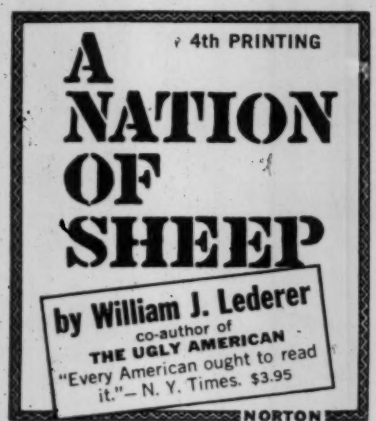
Notable, too, is the clarity of Link's account of Wilson's confrontation of British sea power. The President, in this instance, was less successful in getting his own way. The submarine incidents shielded British practices. The American economy rapidly became geared to Allied purchases. And Britain (notably in the case of cotton) made important accommodations to American distress. Yet Link demonstrates that the vigorous note of October 21, 1915, was a protest against the British "blockade" which was meant to mean business. Here the volume ends. We know, however, that Wilson never brought the British to heel. The interesting question whether this differential treatment of German and British efforts to control the seas was to a significant degree the result of political bias—or the result merely of circumstance and convenience—remains to be answered in subsequent volumes.

Let us pass on to Wilson's Mexican and Caribbean policies, which have always been highly puzzling. Link treats them in detail (on the basis of much new evidence), and he again, through mastery of his materials, produces an interpretation that is altogether persuasive. The lack of any inhibition on Wilson's part—or Bryan's—regarding intervention in Mexico, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti is today almost incomprehensible. Paradoxically our different outlook is largely owing to the impact on world opinion of Wilson's own passionate advocacy of the territorial integrity and political independence of nations and of the sanctity of small nations in particular.

Link points out that Wilson was "the most extraordinary interventionist in Latin America in the history of the United States. The man who usually abhorred the very thought of employing force in international relations became the first President in American history to use violent means to impose the will of the United States . . . upon nations that were at least technically free and sovereign." The standard economic explanations of imperialism were not, Link believes, the controlling considerations. Nor was the strategic importance of the area an impelling factor—though in the early stages of the Mexican turmoil, prior to the war in Europe, the threat of European, particularly British, intervention was an important goad to American action.

Above all, Wilson was seeking democratic order on the basis of constitutions and elections. Viewed in this light, his actions were not incompatible with protestations of pan-American brotherhood—indeed Wilson sympathized with the objectives of revolutionary reform. But there was no growing edge permitting constitutionalism to take hold. In Haiti and the Dominican Republic, Wilson's democratic evangelism led step by step to occupation and complete control. These societies were politically bankrupt and the Marines held them in receivership.

A similiar culmination failed to materialize in Mexico. For one thing, in Mexico's President Carranza Wilson encountered a stubbornness that was a match for his own. For another, Wilson came to an important realization. Calling a halt to plans for imposing a general election on Mexico, Wilson instructed Lansing in August, 1915: "The first and most essential step in settling affairs of Mexico is not to call general elections. It seems to me necessary that a provisional government essentially revolutionary in character should take action to institute reforms by decree before the full forms of the constitution are resumed." This was a reversal of his earlier position, which obliged Lansing to shift 180 degrees in his negotiations with certain Latin American governments, designed to achieve a united policy on Mexico. The altered course was long overdue; while it did not



Yours FREE

THE C.I.A.

by Fred J. Cook

This special issue of **The Nation** is making magazine history—just as the same author's "The FBI" and "The Shame of New York" have done.

Here is the explosive background to the Cuban fiasco, the exciting story of the intrigues of an agency so secret that no more than a half-dozen people know exactly how much it spends, how many people it employs, what it does . . .

Here is the story, too, of the CIA's chieftain, Allen Dulles, the "master spy" who during World War II established contacts with representatives of the dreaded Himmler, chief of the Nazi secret police, for purposes which are only now coming to light . . .

Fred J. Cook, who for three successive years has won high journalistic awards for his special exposes in **The Nation**, outdoes himself in this thrilling story which combines the drama of a cloak-and-dagger novel with shocking facts about this country's most mysterious—and most dangerous—agency of government.

This Special Issue Is Yours Free With A Subscription To The Nation. Fill Out The Coupon Below.

The Nation

333 Sixth Ave.

New York, N.Y.

The Nation, 333 Sixth Ave., N.Y. 14, N.Y.

Please send me FREE a copy of THE CIA, by Fred J. Cook, with my subscription to The Nation as follows:

1 year, $8 — 3 years, $20

2 years, $14 — 6 months, $4

Payment enclosed ☐ — Bill me ☐

(Foreign postage, $1 a year extra)

Name.....

Address.....

City.....Zone.....State.....

ANY BOOK

No matter how old or how long out-of-print—located by expert staff. "Name the book—we'll find it." Fiction or non-fiction. All authors, subjects. Free search—courteous service—no obligation to buy.

BOOKS-ON-FILE, Dept. PR
Union City, New Jersey

CLASSIFIED

BOOKS

LET ME FIND the books you want. Marcia Haskells, 122 S. 3rd Avenue, Mt. Vernon, N.Y.

BAER'S BOOK SEARCH. 2856a Woodlawn Terrace, Memphis 7, Tenn. We will find the book you want.

FOR SALE

Let us MAKE YOUR OPINION COUNT. Let us SEND IT TO EVERY CONGRESSMAN. EVERY MONTH—33c a month. ACOPOLL (Pro.) 430 S. Mich., Chicago.

PERSONAL

COMMUNAL SOCIETY to be founded in South Pacific in 1962. Seek creative, industrious members (21-40). Apply Philia, Box 1149, Washington 13, D. C.

"HELP STAMP OUT HUMAN BEINGS! Contribute to the war effort through your local tax collector." Send for that slogan on stickers. Rm. 2207, 150 Nassau, N.Y. 38, N.Y. Suggested contribution dime a dozen, dollar a big bagful.

PUBLICATIONS

UNION DEMOCRACY IN ACTION reports rising reform in labor. 10 issues $3. Sample free. Box 62, Knickerbocker Station, New York 2, N.Y.

PEACE! TWO STARTLING PROPOSALS for improving communication with Russia by S. I. Hayakawa and Anatol Rapoport, in the new issue of ETC: A REVIEW OF GENERAL SEMANTICS. Sample copy, 25 cents; ETC., Dept. 4A, 400 W. North Avenue, Chicago.

THE LIBERAL. If you are a Freethinker, Rationalist or Agnostic, you will want to read this monthly magazine. 24 pages cram full of information that you will never see in the daily press. Book list, reviews, etc. $1.50 a year. Sample copy upon request. Friendship Liberal League, Inc., Box P, 5233 N. 5th St., Philadelphia 20, Pa.

THE FREE HUMANIST—a live-wire, up-to-date, free-thought magazine, 24 pages monthly. Brings you news-notes, happenings, and events in the religious field of interest to rationalists. Send 10 cents stamps or coin for sample copy. $1 per year. FREE HUMANIST, 5526 Westford Rd., Philadelphia 20, Pa.

FREETHINKERS! ATHEISTS! AGNOSTICS! THE SECULARIST. The leading, dynamic monthly magazine for you. Send $1 for 6 months trial (or $2 for year) to: American Secularist Association, Box 91-P, Newark 1, N.J.

REAL ESTATE

WANTED: Investors to back their words with deeds. Issue: Housing without discrimination. For prospectus write Morris Milgram, Planned Communities, 84 Nassau, Princeton, N.J.

forestall the subsequent difficulties with Villa, it at least recognized that constitutions and elections are not a panacea to be prescribed indiscriminately.

The Assembly's Role

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, by Sydney D. Bailey. Praeger. 337 pp. $5.

Reviewed by

Joseph P. Lash

THE IMPORTANCE of the General Assembly of the United Nations is usually either exaggerated or underestimated. The Assembly meets annually, presumably from mid-September to mid-December; but with ninety-nine nations now sitting as members, and with mounting Niagaras of oratory, it is unlikely ever again to finish its business in so short a time.

Some liken the Assembly to a national legislature, although it has only the power to recommend and finds such difficulty in arriving at a consensus that it can adopt only the most general resolutions. In the twin crises of Suez and Hungary its demand that Britain and France withdraw "forthwith" was effective only because of behind-the-scenes pressure from the United States; its talk of sanctions against Israel gave way to a negotiated solution regarding Gaza and Aqaba when the United States shied away from coercive measures; and its resolutions calling on Soviet Russia to cease and desist in Hungary were ignored because no one was prepared to go further than resolutions.

But it is an even greater mistake to conclude that the Assembly does not have influence on policy. Its debates have had an obvious impact on the rate of decolonization and on the decision, first to begin, and later to go on with, the nuclear test ban negotiations.

The Assembly affords governments an invaluable gauge by which to measure the acceptability of their policies. The decline in U.S. authority and prestige in Asia and Africa registered in the votes of the first part of the Fifteenth Session was an important factor in spurring the Kennedy Administration to review its policies on colonial issues.

There are complaints that the "one nation, one vote" formula of the Assembly does not mirror the realities of international relations. But Lester Pearson has pointed out that the nuclear stalemate gives the smaller and middle powers more leverage in international affairs, in actuality. The bipolar world is in the process of breaking up, and the dispersion shows up with dramatic clarity in the General Assembly.

Because of this dispersion the Assembly is unlikely to become less important in the United Nations system. And we can expect this book by Sydney Bailey, a writer on international affairs and former director of the Quaker program at the United Nations, to be the forerunner of many others. Bailey's book is a manual of procedures and practices rather than an evaluation and pointing up of Assembly trends. Even so, the writing is unnecessarily pedantic and labored. This is not a book for the general reader but students of the United Nations will find it of help and interest.

The Cross of Race

THE BROTHERS M, by Tom Stacey. Pantheon. 512 pp. $5.95.

THE CORAL BARRIER, by Pierre Gascar. Atlantic-Little Brown. 172 pp. $3.75.

TALES FROM A TROUBLED LAND, by Alan Paton. Scribner's. 128 pp. $3.50.

Reviewed by

Jack Mendelsohn

A FEW weeks ago *Life* magazine carried a lengthy, patronizing article about African religion. There was much pontificating about African "superstition" and "sorcery." The same issue also contained a laudatory piece about a white South African golfer. With straight face and obvious respect, the article quoted the golfer's explanation of how he approached the Master's Golf Tournament (which he won): "The Lord wants me to win." Readers were told, again with no sign of a quizzical demur, that the golfer in question was "certain that he had heard a message from above." It seems not to have occurred to the editors of *Life* that one man's "sorcery" is another man's

"reverence." Thus by barriers, higher and thicker than we know, are we kept from entering truly into one another's lives.

This is the common theme running through these three widely diverse books. The black man of Africa, and the white man of Africa and the West, are strangers to one another, defenseless in their spirtual isolation from one another. If anyone wishes to seek redemption from this isolation—through vicarious suffering—he could do no better than to read these three books. They are utterly different in style, in execution, in setting; yet each is a visit to the Golgotha of our century: the crucifixion of man on the cross of race.

Alan Paton needs no introduction, nor, for that matter, does the theme of his latest book, *Tales from A Troubled Land*. It is a collection of ten gripping short stories with a common setting: a reformatory for young Africans in Paton's "beloved" and tortured country, the Union of South Africa. Paton's conscience will be stilled only by death. His voice is another matter, dependent upon how far a steadily-sickening Afrikaner government is prepared to go in gagging a world figure. At least we have these ten tales in all their finely-honed horror and compassion: "Yet I knew that the boy who wrote the letter would, so far as men knew, always be defeated, till one day he would give up both hope and ghost, and leave to his enemy the sole tenancy of the divided house."

The consistent theme of all his previous books, and of this one as well, is summarized in the agonized words with which Paton ends one of the stories, "Death of a Tsotsi": "And this death would go on too, for nothing less than the reform of a society would bring it to an end. It was the menace of the socially frustrated, strangers to mercy, striking like adders for the dark reasons of ancient minds, at any who crossed their path."

THE HIGH COST OF DYING

by RUTH MULVEY HARMER

single copy	10 cents
three copies	25 cents
twenty copies	$1

Reprint Department
The Progressive
Madison, Wisconsin

Pierre Gascar is one of a crop of brilliant postwar French novelists. The Africa of which he writes in *The Coral Barrier* is Somaliland in the two-year period after the war, when the Italians were preparing to relinquish sovereignty. In one of its steaming cities, Mogadiscio, a seamy group of aging Italian bureaucrats try to live out their lives in preference to repatriation to an Italy they no longer know. Into their spiritless midst comes a dreamy young liberal, Luigi Peretti. Because there are no European women left in Mogadiscio, each of the Italians has solved his problem of loneliness in his own way with the beautiful Somali women. Luigi's love for Jilal, and the frustration of that love because of one of the most bizarre reasons to be found in literature, is the thin but fascinating thread upon which the plot hangs.

Gascar's genius is the utter simplicity with which he confronts the massive themes of colonial disintegration, Somali resurgence, and the barriers between the races. Proper credit should be given to the translator, Merloyd Lawrence, for effectively transmitting Gascar's disciplined, lyrical prose. This book can be read in an hour or two, but its sensitive telling of how one white man and one black woman tried to reach across the gulf will linger a long time.

Tom Stacey is a young English writer for the London Sunday *Times* and an African specialist with many years of residence below the Sahara. Obviously he pondered his novel, *The Brothers M*, a long time and wrote it with monumental care. It demands much of the reader. It breaks a great deal of new ground in its complex and frequently profound exploration of what happens when white and black confront one another on equal terms.

The book is done in two distinct sections. In the first, the brothers M of the title meet and build their friendship as graduate students at Oxford. One is an eager, powerful Ugandan, Daudi Mukasa. The other is an idealistic Canadian "egghead," Bob McNair. Their friendship ripens and deepens. They become, in a quiet, private ritual, blood brothers.

In the books second stage, the scene shifts to Uganda, where McNair joins his blood brother, Mukasa, in a search for Daudi's lost relatives among the primitive Mukonjo of the Ruwenzori mountains. The journey becomes incredibly complicated and perilous. Day by day the friendship erodes and the blood brothers grow apart and hostile. It is in this process of disintegration that Stacey performs a brilliant analysis of the awesome psychological and spiritual barriers between Mukasa and McNair—barriers untouched, merely concealed, by the years of easy intimacy at Oxford.

Stacey wisely traces no primrose path to atonement. He leaves us to wrestle with the tragic dilemmas of isolation, as we must if neither the hope nor the peril of Africa and the West are to be hidden from our consciousness.

"The Critic of Business and the Organization Man"

a New Introductory Essay by the author in the new printing of

CRUSADERS FOR AMERICAN LIBERALISM

by Louis Filler

First published in 1939, republished in 1950, this is the classic study of America's Age of Reform—the Muckraking Movement of the early twentieth century.

xxiv + 422 pages; index; bibliography, chronology; illustrated.

$4.00

THE ANTIOCH PRESS
Yellow Springs, Ohio

THE CALIFORNIAN

THE MEISENBACH CASE

The FBI and HUAC Convicted

by Irving Hall

For those of you who have been unable to obtain coverage of the all-important Meisenbach case, here is the most extensive to appear in any national publication. This combination of fact and analysis provides the most devastating refutation yet of the Hoover Report and "Operation Abolition," the film of the House Un-American Activities Committee which has caused so much hysteria in the United States.

This lengthy article makes a fitting wind-up to THE CALIFORNIAN'S previous material on the subject, which is now upheld beyond dispute by the decision in the Meisenbach case. You will find this extremely important discussion in the June issue, along with these articles:

KRON-TV SAYS FILMS WERE LABELED BY DATE — Quotes from the news director of KRON to show that Fulton Lewis III and the House Un-American Activities Committee staff deliberately edited out significant portions of the TV newsreel films and changed dates to make "Operation Abolition."

THE CHARACTER OF A POLICE INFORMER — This centers on a case, played up in sensational headlines in California newspapers, of a "hero" undercover agent who posed as a beatnik to inform on individuals using marijuana, only to be exposed two years later as a reprobate himself who was finally shot to death by his wife in a sordid episode. The case is used as a study of and a takeoff on the quality of individuals used by our police forces and state agencies as informers.

PETE SEEGER: THE ARTIST AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION — Some clues to why America's foremost ballad singer has been sentenced to a year in prison for refusing to inform for the HUAC.

PORTLAND'S NEWSPAPER REVOLUTION — How the cruel strikebreaking tactics of the Nation's second largest chain publisher stirred up community resentment, which resulted in a new chapter in American journalism.

To: **The Californian,** Dept. P-1 • 308 Delger Building
1005 Market Street • San Francisco 3, California

I enclose $1 for the special June issue only.

I enclose $1.35 for the June issue and a reprint of "Black Friday," telling the complete story of the student demonstrations against the HUAC.

I enclose $5 for a one-year subscription, and I understand this entitles me to the June issue and "Black Friday" reprint **FREE, INCLUDED WITH THE SUBSCRIPTION.** (Foreign add $1 per year postage)

Previous prices and rates quoted by THE CALIFORNIAN in ads in this magazine are now invalid; the new rates take precedence.

NAME ..... STREET .....

CITY ..... ZONE ..... STATE .....

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT
UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS INC
313 N 1ST ST
ANN ARBOR, MICH
L277
T183 DH